

OCTOBER 25, 2004

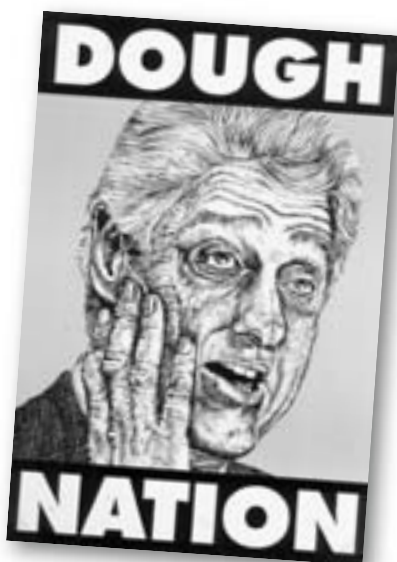
THE CONSERVATIVES'  
PERSECUTION COMPLEX

# IN THESE TIMES

# IS IRAN NEXT?

The Pentagon  
neocons who  
brought you  
the war in Iraq  
have a new target

24



26

# Contents

Volume 28 - Number 24

## The Passion of the Right By David Mulcahey

14 How the GOP plays personal persecution for political profit.

## Is Iran Next? By Tom Barry

16 The spy scandal in the Pentagon suggests that another regime change is in the works.

## A Fixer-Upper

By David Moberg

22 The House of Representatives is in need of repair, but are Democrats up for the job?



Cover by Jim Rinnert

11 **Truth & Consequences** By David Sirota  
You call *this* a democracy?

12 **Back Talk** By Susan J. Douglas  
Bush or Kerry: Who's the man?

13 **The Third Coast** By Salim Muwakkil  
Al Qaeda's man in Washington.

## 6 Environmental Hogwash

By Christopher D. Cook

The EPA works with factory farms to delay regulation of "Extremely Hazardous Substances."

## 8 Despairing for Darfur By Eric Reeves

While the media attention has grown, press accounts are still underestimating the scale of the genocide.

## 9 Appall-O-Meter By David Mulcahey

## 10 In Person By Hans Johnson

Sue Neiderer: mother against death and destruction.

## 24 • A Presidential Rogues Gallery By Carol Wells

ART From Lyndon to Dubya, a history of scoundrels in portrait.

## 26 • Trapped in Decline Culture

By Margaret Morganroth Gullette

ESSAY Americans' fear of aging doesn't bode well for its long-term prospects.



## 28 • A Lingering Afterimage By Paul McLeary

BOOKS Art Spiegelman and life *In The Shadow Of No Towers*.

## 29 • Revolutionary Beginnings By Todd Lillithun

MOVIES Ready for his close up: Che gets the big screen treatment.

## 32 • Stuff Happens By Hans Haacke

ART The stars and stripes forever?

“And a year from now, I’ll be very surprised if there is not some grand square in Baghdad that is named after President Bush. There is no doubt that, with the exception of a very small number of people close to a vicious regime, the people of Iraq have been liberated and they understand that they’ve been liberated.”

RICHARD PERLE

LUNCHEON KEYNOTE, AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE  
FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH, SEPTEMBER 22, 2003



# Editorial

## The Promise Keeper By Brian Cook

It's no revelation that the "perception managers" giving our reporters their daily bread from the White House and Pentagon are old hands at the art of euphemism, having long ago taken to heart

Humpty Dumpty's dictum that when "masters" use a word, it means exactly what they choose it to mean—"neither more nor less."

Yet language remains a fickle mistress, whose in-built ambiguities and tendency toward multiple meanings make it a slave to no man. So it's instructive to examine those instances when language's eccentricities send the spin masters—themselves subservient to state secrecy—stumbling and spilling the beans.

In the lead-up to the Iraq war, Pentagon planners managed to catch themselves before dubbing the mission "Operation Iraqi Liberation," presumably when some officer noted that the mission's acronym (OIL) might suggest an ulterior motive. They'd obviously learned from the post-9/11 mission-naming debacle, when the Pentagon code-named the plan to bomb Afghanistan "Operation Infinite Justice." The American Muslim community cried out that only Allah was capable of this task. (Ever reluctant to offend the sensibilities of those they are about to target with cruise missiles, the Pentagon changed the name to "Operation Enduring Freedom.")

But in his latest book, *Iraq: The Borrowed Kettle*, In These Times Contributing Editor Slavoj Žižek argues that the name "Infinite Justice" holds a disconcerting truth, one fitting for a war waged against an abstract noun. As Bush himself recently blurted out to the chagrin of his handlers, there is no way to win the war on terror, so the battle will continue to move from front to front, stretching from here to eternity. (A similar ambiguity exists in the replacement of "Infinite Justice," it being apparent that John Ashcroft has found the task of "Enduring Freedom" far too taxing for his imprisoned mind.)

Such thoughts arise when listening to President Bush's stump speech, now playing in a swing state near you. Having been reeducated by his handlers, the president is back on message regarding America's "war on terror." The emotional climax occurs when Bush regales the faithful with his remembrances from Ground Zero, in particular the moment of male bonding he shared with a group of hard-hatted workers who chanted at him: "Whatever it takes."

The gruff manliness of the phrase obvi-

ously appeals to Bush, so much so that he repeats it later in the speech, telling the crowd, "I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes." This repetition elicits the loudest cheers of approval from his backers—terrifying, when you consider we are not six months past an uncensored glimpse of the logic of "whatever it takes" at work in Abu Ghraib.

Of all the dangerous beliefs held by this White House, the most damaging has been its steadfast insistence that noble ends are justified by any means. Thus, to achieve the admirable goal of bringing Saddam Hussein to justice, the Bush administration lied to and misled its citizens, spied on members of the United Nations and breached the U.N. Charter that had been the bedrock of international law for over half a century. In its attempts to capture and interrogate terrorists, the administration has laid waste to the Bill of Rights, tacitly approved the use of torture and established an illegal concentration camp at Guantánamo Bay.

Americans have grown accustomed to cynically dismissing campaign promises peddled by politicians on the stump as pure pabulum. But take Bush at his word. He's a promise keeper. If reelected, he won't relent in pursuing this never-ending war on terror by any means necessary. More draconian legislation, more unlawful, unilateral action, more electrodes attached to the genitals of prisoners of war. Whatever it takes. ■



# Letters

## Grassroots Needed

Jefferson Decker in his thoughtful review of my book, *The New Victorians*, suggests in the final two paragraphs how my argument “should come with significant qualification” (“The Statistical Christs,” September 20).

Decker is right to suggest that contemporary opposition to welfare was more broadly rooted than among anti-welfare business conservatives. That’s in part the puzzle I set out to answer in *The New Victorians*. Opposition to welfare was widespread in the late twentieth century, just as it had been in the late nineteenth century. The puzzle is why only at these two moments in American political history was anti-relief sentiment able to mobilize a widespread roll-back of benefits. I argue in *The New Victorians* that only when that opposition was institutionalized (in nineteenth century Charity Organization Societ-

ies and twentieth century think tanks) was it able to dominate policy debate and change policy itself. That’s why I pay so much attention to the manner in which a few nineteenth century cities were able to resist these powerful reform efforts.

Decker is also right that welfare alone was not the target. But because of its lack of political support and its structural failings, I argue that Aid to Families with Dependent Children was merely the first target in a bigger and bolder class war, an effort that is raging now to undo the Great Society and the New Deal and return us to pre-Progressive Era notions of the appropriate role of the state. Social Security has not been repealed, it is true, but surely we can see the ways in which Democrats and Republicans alike contemplate various schemes of privatization, unthinkable (at least for Democrats) 20 years ago. But



programs were anti-welfare campaigns beaten back. That is the lesson I tried to offer in *The New Victorians*.

Stephen Pimpare  
New York

## Vladimir Chávez?

I was taken aback by Steve Ellner’s reasoning or lack thereof (“Chávez Hits a Home Run,” September 20). First, his misplaced quip that “Chávez’s anti-imperialism is a far cry from that of Lenin,” demonstrates to my mind an anti-progressive liberal prejudice. What Chávez has done, far more effectively than simply criticizing Bush, is organize foreign trade on the barter system (Venezuelan oil for needed imports), thereby circumventing the use of the dollar as the global fiat currency. This policy is tantamount to Lenin canceling Russia’s foreign debt, accumulated under the tsars, thereby ensuring the enmity of all imperialist powers and their active intervention in the Russian civil war.

Second, Ellner’s conclusion that a Kerry victory would ease relations with Caracas is unfounded. Kerry’s “harsh words” concerning Chávez is indicative of a candidate who has made it abundantly clear that he intends to appropriate Bush’s foreign policy and implement it more effectively.

Stephen Jankowiak  
Miami

## Coming Out Against Bush

I don’t know if anyone can ever compare to Mark Twain, but Garrison Keillor comes close (“We’re Not in Lake Wobegon Anymore,” September

it is a target, and the campaign against welfare helped soften the ground for this much larger battle, something the late Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) saw clearly when welfare reform passed. And I hardly need point out the state of environmental and workplace health and safety regulations. Or new overtime regulations. Or progressive tax policy. And so on.

As for Decker’s suggestion that *The New Victorians* pays more attention to the middle-ground of public opinion, that was at the very heart of the book. Conservative think tanks successfully shaped public understandings about welfare and pushed credible social science data out of the debate. Their information began to appear in polled public opinion, then from the mouths of both Democratic and Republican policy-makers, and then in policy itself. Sure, there were legitimate liberal complaints about welfare, but those voices are not the ones that dominated debate and shaped policy reform, and thus play a very small role in my story.

We do need to think in a more sophisticated fashion about how to structure social welfare programs that are more resilient to attack. But only when grassroots mobilization in defense of relief was joined with elite rhetorical defense of strong welfare

[www.inthesetimes.com](http://www.inthesetimes.com)

## DISCUSSION

“Demme’s movie [*The Manchurian Candidate*] is nonpartisan: The words ‘Republican’ and ‘Democrat’ are never uttered during the story’s twisty, over-baked challah of sleeper espionage, mind control, impromptu assassination plots and electioneering flimflam.

That seems to be what’s wrong with the movies and TV these days. Even when they do political conspiracy, we get conspiracies without any politics—by which I mean political *issues*. When issues get taken out of politics, the end result is a travesty of life itself. It would be like making a Christian movie where, say, no one was ever tempted by sex, drugs or rock’n’roll.”

Join the debate at the forum for “Spin’s the Thing.”

20). Like Keillor, I am frightened and disheartened at the turn our country has taken, and am very fearful that this election will somehow be stolen (again). Dante's quote reminds me also of a quote (which I display on my car) of Thomas Jefferson: "All tyranny needs to gain a foothold is for people of good conscience to remain silent."

I have decided to "come out" also. By this I mean speaking my mind publicly and retiring from the Army Reserves. The retirement—sooner than I had wished, for I still enjoy being in the Reserves—is driven by the imperial quests of our current court-appointed president.

Like many of my fellow Reservists, I find that the constant threat of mobilization and remobilization fundamentally threatens my civilian career and marriage.

More importantly, I have come to the conclusion that the Bush administration is trying to accumulate undemocratic power. This threatens the very nature of our democratic republic. I swore an oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, not any one president's ideology or family ambitions. Enough is enough. I just hope that enough other Americans are waking up to this threat.

*Lt. Col. Chris Martin  
Berwyn, Ill.*

## election 2004 coverage

Don't miss our upcoming election coverage, in print and online at [www.inthesetimes.com/election](http://www.inthesetimes.com/election):

**BREAKING COVERAGE** Visit *In These Times* online during the final days of the election for daily analysis of results and get-out-the-vote efforts.

**"THE GROUND UP"** Check out daily blog updates on progressive politics and the 2004 election from Contributing Editor Christopher Hayes.

**SPECIAL FEATURES** Watch for *In These Times* stories on Bush's first-term worsts and humorists' growing clout.

**COMING SOON: "THE ANTIDOTE"** Web-based weekly letters from the grassroots telling the stories of activists and political organizers.

### Swing the Swing States!

We're seeking enthusiastic readers who will volunteer to become **In These Times Action Associates**. Help *In These Times* expand while meeting and reaching progressives in communities across the nation and supporting the spread of justice and democracy in the United States.

### What is an *In These Times* Action Associate?

Action Associates play an integral role in sharing the news about *In These Times*. They distribute free copies and promotional materials at political meetings, public events and progressive gathering spots in their communities.

After letting us know how it went, Action Associates will be thanked with a year-long complimentary subscription.

To learn more about becoming an **In These Times Action Associate**, e-mail Associate Publisher Tracy Van Slyke at [tracy@inthesetimes.com](mailto:tracy@inthesetimes.com) or call her at 773-772-0100, ext. 243.

## IN THESE TIMES

"With liberty and justice for all..."

FOUNDING EDITOR AND PUBLISHER  
James Weinstein

EDITOR Joel Bleifuss  
SENIOR EDITORS Craig Aaron, Patricia Aufderheide, Ana Marie Cox, Susan J. Douglas, David Moberg, Dave Mulcahey, Salim Muwakkil, David Sirota, Kurt Vonnegut  
MANAGING EDITOR, LOGISTICS Jessica Clark  
MANAGING EDITOR, CONTENT Cynthia Moothart  
EDITOR-AT-LARGE Sheryl Larson  
ASSISTANT EDITOR Brian Cook  
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT Phoebe Connelly  
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS Terry J. Allen, Eleanor J. Bader, Will Boisvert, Darryl Cater, Barbara Ehrenreich, Annette Fuentes, Juan Gonzalez, Miles Harvey, Christopher Hayes, Paul Hockenos, George Hodak, Doug Ireland, Naomi Klein, Robert W. McChesney, John Nichols, James North, Geov Parrish, Kim Phillips-Fein, Jeffrey St. Clair, Jane Slaughter, Fred Weir, G. Pascal Zachary, Slavoj Žižek  
PROOFREADERS Alan Kimmel, Norman Wishner  
INTERNS Abraham Epton, Kevin Friedl, Nic Halverson, Ana Hristova, Alix Rule, Pallav Vora, Helen Walls

ART DIRECTORS Jim Rinnert, Seamus Holman  
ILLUSTRATOR Terry LaBan  
ART INTERN Sarah Oates

PUBLISHER Jeff Epton  
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHERS Aaron Sarver, Tracy Van Slyke  
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER A.L. Loy  
CIRCULATION DIRECTOR Peter Hoyt  
ADVERTISING DIRECTOR Emily Udell  
BUSINESS INTERN Heather Ulbrich

IN THESE TIMES PUBLISHING CONSORTIUM  
Grant Abert, Theresa Alt, Stuart Anderson, R. Brent Fisher, Collier Hands, Polly Howells and Eric Werthman, Nancy Kricorian and James Schamus, Lisa Lee, Chris Lloyd, Robin Lloyd, Edith Helen Monsees, Dave Rathke, Abby Rockefeller and Lee Halprin, Perry Rosenstein, Lewis Steel, Dan Terkel, Studs Terkel, James Weinstein

BOARD OF DIRECTORS Joel Bleifuss, Jeff Epton, Janet Geovanis, Robert McChesney, David Moberg, Dave Rathke, Beth Schulman

*In These Times* (ISSN 0160-5992) is published biweekly by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 308 E. Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 28, No. 24) went to press on September 24, for newsstand sales October 8 to October 22, 2004.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©2004 by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Contact the union at (212) 254-0279 or <http://www.nwu.org>.

Subscriptions are \$36.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). For subscription questions, address changes and back issues call (800) 827-0270.

Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from Bell and Howell, Ann Arbor, MI. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Newsstand circulation through Big Top Newsstand Services, a division of the IPA, at (415) 643-0161, or [info@bigtoppubs.com](mailto:info@bigtoppubs.com).

Printed in the United States.



## HOW TO REACH US

**POST** *In These Times*  
2040 North Milwaukee Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60647

**PHONE** (773) 772-0100

### SUBSCRIPTION QUESTIONS

To renew your subscription or change your address, please call 1-800-827-0270.

### SUBMISSIONS

Writers may submit articles at [www.inthesetimes.com/submissions](http://www.inthesetimes.com/submissions). Please review the writer's guidelines posted on our Web site.

### SPECIAL REQUESTS

To inquire about lost or damaged issues, back issues and classroom subscriptions, please contact Aaron Sarver at [sarver@inthesetimes.com](mailto:sarver@inthesetimes.com).

### ADVERTISING

To advertise or to request a media kit, please contact Emily Udell at extension 240.

### LETTERS

We encourage letters to the editor, and reserve the right to edit them for clarity, grammar and length.



In Bloomfield, Nebraska, pigs in confined cages wait for their once-daily feeding in a poorly ventilated room filled with pig excrement.

PETE SOUZA / KRT

## Environmental Hogwash

The EPA works with factory farms to delay regulation of 'Extremely Hazardous Substances.' *By Christopher D. Cook*

**C**HICKEN HAS TAKEN ON A WHOLE NEW MEANING for Faye Lear, of White Plains, in western Kentucky, who lives 300 feet from two giant barns containing thousands of birds laying eggs for Tyson Foods.

There are the sickening wafts of ammonia and bird feather dust that chase her inside from her front porch. Clouds of well-fed flies swarm her car windows. Once a year, when the barns are emptied for cleaning, mass infestations of mice overrun the neighborhood.

"It's like an open sewer for a big city," says Lear, who works as a nurse. "It's nauseating, it burns your eyes. I wouldn't call them a farm—they're like an industry."

Across the country, thousands of these "factory farms"—each warehousing thousands of tightly confined hogs, chickens or cows—produce potentially toxic air emissions. These fumes are the byproduct of 1.3 billion tons of waste created annually by the sprawling compounds, which are the top polluters of

America's waterways according to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

Despite this torrent of manure, and a growing number of lawsuits by sickened neighbors, "there are essentially no pollution controls on these operations whatsoever," says Sierra Club attorney Barclay Rogers. "The environment is being wrecked by these operations."

But the EPA isn't ready to stanch this stench anytime soon. According to documents obtained by the Sierra Club through a Freedom of Information Act request, the EPA has developed a voluntary air monitoring program in close collaboration with animal-industry groups such as the National Pork Producers Council (NPPC) and the US Poultry and Egg Association. (The cattle industry chose not to participate.)

The plan, still being hashed out internally at the agency "resolves [participating companies'] civil liability for potential violations" of federal clean air laws. In effect, this would mean a two-year amnesty from



enforcement of the Clean Air Act—as well as immunity from federal Superfund and environmental right-to-know laws. During this time, some of the nation's largest pig and chicken facilities would gather air emissions data. Only later could they be penalized for exceeding the emissions limits for ammonia and hydrogen sulfide.

Environmentalists are up in arms. "The exchange of data for prosecutorial immunity is antithetical to the notion of aggressive environmental enforcement," says Rogers.

"These [poultry] operations are generating extraordinary quantities of ammonia gas," says Rogers. Ammonia gas is listed as an "Extremely Hazardous Substance" in the Superfund law and is a key contributor to particulate matter pollutants. Indeed, EPA researchers have found that "animal husbandry operations" are responsible for 73 percent of all ammonia released into the air nationwide.

In 2001, EPA inspectors detected disturbingly high releases of ammonia from Buckeye Egg Farm in Ohio, then the nation's fourth-largest egg producer. Some Buckeye facilities were churning out 700-800 tons of particulate matter per year—far in excess of the federal air-quality reporting standard of 250 tons. After years of enforcement battles begun under the Clinton administration, the EPA this past February secured a Clean Air Act settlement and a \$880,598 civil penalty against the now-defunct Buckeye.

A 1999 analysis of air data by the Environmental Defense Fund found that hog operations spew 167 million pounds of ammonia nitrogen into the atmosphere each year in North Carolina alone. "Studies in the North Carolina region where hog facilities are clustered show that the level of ammonia in rain has doubled in the past decade," the report stated.

Epidemiological studies, meanwhile, suggest the fumes may cause increased rates of asthma, chronic bronchitis and other respiratory disorders. A 1999 report prepared by epidemiologist Steve Wing for the North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services found that people residing near a large hog facility suffered increased levels of nausea, diarrhea and respiratory problems.

The livestock industry dismisses such information. "There has not been anything scientifically proven that these hog barns would cause any ill to human beings," says Kara Flynn, director of communications for the NPPC. "I travel routinely to hog farms and I've never smelled anything that caused me any grief ... it's actually very pleasant,

surprisingly, fairly normal," Flynn says, "We are paying for that study to take place so that they [EPA] can ... come up with regulations that impact us. I think that's more than fair."

The EPA—citing a 2002 National Academy of Sciences report calling for further study—insists that it needs more information before it can enforce the law. "A lot of people assume we know the quantity and type of emissions coming from these [animal feeding operations] and we don't," says EPA Press Secretary Cynthia Bergman. Rather than going after companies one by one, says Bergman, "a better way is to figure out what their emissions are industrywide."

But critics say the Bush administration's EPA has dragged its feet and stifled the momentum of factory-farm enforcement begun under President Clinton. Michele Merkel, a former EPA staff attorney now working with the Washington DC-based Environmental Integrity Project, says the agency "hasn't initiated one investigation in four years. They're not doing anything."

Most distressing, says Merkel, is that the EPA has spent years negotiating a voluntary "safe harbor" approach when the agency has long had the "authority to gather the kind of data it needs to determine emissions levels at these industrial farming operations. It doesn't need industry's permission. It doesn't need to sign up to this voluntary agreement. They're privatizing a rulemaking process."

Environmentalists call the EPA plan a "sweetheart" deal between the Bush administration and the livestock sector, which contributed \$3.46 million to candidates for federal office in 2004, 79 percent of it to Republicans, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

Indeed, on September 16 the NPPC presented its "Friend of the Pork Producer" award to President Bush, citing his "tireless efforts to use reason and science in shaping environmental policies impacting agriculture."

Now Senator Larry Craig (R-Idaho) is preparing legislation to exempt industrial farms from federal Superfund and right-to-know laws altogether, potentially rendering the EPA plan moot. A coalition of 33 family farm and environmental groups is lobbying hard to block the rider. ■

**CHRISTOPHER D. COOK** is an award-winning investigative journalist and author of the forthcoming *Diet for a Dead Planet: How the Food Industry Is Killing Us*.

## IN SHORT

### Injustice on the Rez

Proving that the government's mismanagement of prisons is not limited to overseas facilities such as Guantánamo Bay or Abu Ghraib, a September 21 report by the inspector general of the Department of the Interior declared the system of jails on American Indian reservations a "national disgrace."

Citing "conditions comparable to those found in third-world countries," the report describes the 72 detention centers run nationwide by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) as dangerous, unsanitary and egregiously understaffed. The investigation counted 11 fatalities and 236 suicide attempts in the past three years. During the same period there were more than 600 escapes—one quarter of them cases of inmates simply walking away while unguarded. Given that only 2 percent of these incidents were reported to the BIA in a timely fashion, the figures are likely much higher.

Since the majority of these jails have only one officer on duty at any given time, managing all the prisoners is an impossibility, creating dangerous conditions for both inmates and employees. BIA management has been aware of these understaffed facilities for years, but the investigation found only a "token effort" had been made to fix the problem.

The intolerable state of the detention facilities is the result of systemic inertia within the BIA. Citing the bureau's "laissez-faire attitude about these horrific conditions," the report states that only sustained, focused pressure will bring about any change in the jails, which have suffered from similar problems for decades. The inspector general makes clear that "complacency and resignation were the norm—at all levels of BIA management." Furthermore, because funds are "virtually unaccounted for" within the detention program, the government's usual strategy of throwing money at the problem is doomed to fail.

The day of the report's release to the Senate Committee on Finance, the National Museum of the American Indian opened a few blocks west of the U.S. Capitol Building.

—Kevin Friedl

# Despairing for Darfur

Despite increasing coverage, the press has failed to impart the extent of the genocide. **By Eric Reeves**

**W**HILE THERE IS growing attention to ongoing genocide in Darfur, this has not translated into either a meaningful international response or an accurate rendering of the scale and evident course of the catastrophe.

On September 18, the U.N. Security Council passed another ineffectual resolution, trimmed to avoid a Chinese veto. (China abstained from the resolution, declaring publicly it would veto any future resolution that called for sanctions against Khartoum's National Islamic Front.) No consequences are threatened in the resolution if Khartoum

refuses to rein in its brutal Arab militia forces (the Janjaweed), even though the regime promised as much to Kofi Annan on July 3. Nor is there a mechanism to secure an increase of African Union (AU) forces in Darfur, or—most critically—to strengthen their mandate to include peacekeeping and civilian protection.

This leaves a present AU contingent of just 400 men—"cease-fire" monitors, and troops to protect the monitors. This force has been stymied by Khartoum at every turn. The men are often prevented from operating because fuel is withheld from their helicopters. Various AU of-

ficers have recently gone public, describing how Khartoum has prevented the force from investigating village burnings, mass executions and other atrocities. The refusal of the AU political leaders to object publicly to Khartoum's actions augurs poorly for anyone making forceful demands of the regime.

This is important because an AU peacekeeping force has become the default international "policy response" to the violence that is again escalating in Darfur, to the continued insecurity that confronts civilians in camps for the displaced, and to the deteriorating security of humanitarian workers. An

"AU policy" is not working, and cannot succeed without massive international pressure on Khartoum. Despite much posturing at the United Nations, such pressure is nowhere in sight.

At the same time, news reports on Darfur do not provide an accurate sense of the crisis, despite an ongoing stream of reports from humanitarian and human rights groups. In its reporting, the media has used stale and unchanging figures. Current data suggests that far more than 200,000 have already died, though the figures cited in wire reports and news accounts are typically between 30,000 and 50,000. Approximately 2 million have been displaced in Darfur or made refugees in Chad, but news reports continue to speak of "more than 1 million driven from their homes." The World Health Organization found that

## Don't Let Me Be Lonely: An American Lyric CLAUDIA RANKINE



*In this powerful sequence of TV images and essay, Claudia Rankine explores the personal and political unrest of our new century.*

"Claudia Rankine here manages an extraordinary melding of means to effect the most articulate and moving testament to the bleak times we live in I've yet seen. It's master work in every sense, and altogether her own."

—ROBERT CREELEY

Celebrating 30 years of independent publishing  
**GRAYWOLF PRESS**

Visit our new web site: [www.graywolfpress.org](http://www.graywolfpress.org)

## Be Part of the Solution

Our mutual funds are for people like you who want to invest in their future ... and make a difference.



### Domini Social Equity Fund®

offers growth opportunities through a portfolio of stocks selected for their social and environmental performance.

### Domini Social Bond Fund®

provides diversification while supporting homeowners and small business owners in struggling communities.

### Domini Money Market Account®

offers safety and liquidity through FDIC-insured deposits that help promote community development.

Please obtain a current prospectus for more complete information including risks, fees, and expenses, by calling 1-800-530-5321 or online at [www.domini.com](http://www.domini.com).

**Domini**   
SOCIAL INVESTMENTS®

*The Way You Invest Matters®*

Visit [www.domini.com](http://www.domini.com) or Call us at 1-800-530-5321

The Domini Social Equity Fund and the Domini Social Bond Fund are subject to market risks and are not insured. You may lose money. The Domini Social Bond Fund's community development investments may be unrated and carry greater credit risks than the Fund's other investments. The Domini Social Bond Fund currently holds a large percentage of its portfolio in mortgage-backed securities. During periods of falling interest rates these securities may prepay the principal due, which may lower the Fund's return by causing it to reinvest at lower interest rates. DSIL Investment Services LLC, Distributor (DSILD). 10/03





A Sudanese woman at the Internally Displaced Persons camp of Krinding in Darfur.

10,000 are dying every month in camps to which there is humanitarian access; but elsewhere in Darfur the mortality rate is much higher.

Nor has the media reported on the near-term prospects for many hundreds of thousands of increasingly desperate civilians. The consequences of months of genocidal violence directed against African tribal populations are almost never rendered with a view to the future: food production has come to a halt, and traditional agricultural society in Darfur has been largely destroyed. There is little sign that it can be rebuilt, or that the consequences of genocidal land clearances will be reversed. Camps for the displaced are likely to become long-term human warehouses, as extreme insecurity prevails throughout rural areas. The camps and their environs are themselves clearly dangerous, as Janjaweed militia are recycled into the "police force" that is stationed in most camps.

Current humanitarian requirements for Darfur dictate that the international community provide 40,000 metric tons per month of food and critical non-food items such as medicine, shelter and water purification supplies. However,

there isn't half the transport and logistical capacity to meet this monthly need, which is likely to grow for the foreseeable future. (Further, breaks are predicted in the food "pipeline"—a shortfall in food supplies can be predicted on the basis of present resources and projected need.) Rich nations such as France, Italy, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates have shamelessly failed to substantially support to the aid effort.

With a woefully inadequate AU force, a meaningless U.N. resolution, and much bombast from various nations trying to substitute unctuous talk for concrete action, the future of Darfur is bleak. As the catastrophe accelerates, the international community has yet to make a meaningful response and the news media has yet to comprehensively render the genocidal realities. Our failure could not be greater. ■

**ERIC REEVES** is a professor at Smith College who has testified several times before Congress on the ongoing crisis in Sudan. His writings on the subject have appeared in *The Nation*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times* and many international publications.

# APPALL-O-METER

## 3.1 Road Dawgs Wanted

Does the Hummer H2 somehow not quite give full expression to your inner asshole? Then maybe you should consider the new Navistar CXT. Measuring nine feet high and twenty two and a half feet long, and looking like a stockbroker's version of a Peterbilt, one of these babies makes a statement to your fellow commuters that...what? No garage is big enough for your manhood. Ruff ruff!



ample corporate sponsorship.

Faced with hundreds of millions in lawsuits, the irrepressible Black is not taking criticism quietly. "When this complaint is heard in a court of law, the poverty of this case will be painfully demonstrated," he

said in a press statement, reported by the BBC.

But there is a vulnerable side to the mogul as well. He is suing the magazine *Toronto Life* for publishing a satire with the title, "A Toast to Lord Black on his arrival in Hell." The

magazine churlishly illustrated the feature with a caricature of the beleaguered peer riding into hell in a convertible, beaming and giving the thumbs-up. Such abuse, Black's suit claims, has brought him "into hatred, ridicule and contempt." He seeks damages befitting such a dignified personage: \$2.1 million.

## 4.6 The Saga of Lord Bilk

When last we visited Conrad Black, in November, he was being forced to relinquish control of his intercontinental newspaper empire, Hollinger Corp. Now the company has filed a 500-page report with U.S. regulators alleging that Black and a small cabal of sub-honchos chiseled as much as \$400 million from the newspaper empire between 1997 and 2003. For perspective's sake, that's more than 95 percent of the corporation's adjusted net income during that time.

The report details the irregularities during Lord Black's reign at Hollinger, using such phrases as "aggressive looting" and "corporate kleptocracy." Nor does Black's better half come out spotless. Barbara Amiel Black was allegedly paid \$1.1 million a year in a corporate post that did not require her to show up at the office. She did turn out to be a go-getter in the shopping department, however, with

## 2.9 Doogie Howser, Building Inspector

On a less exalted plane of privilege, the son of a Chicago carpenters union boss saw his own bilking scheme run afoul of public opinion. Andy Ryan, a cherub-faced 19-year-old had done pretty well for himself, landing a \$50,000-a-year gig as a city building inspector. When reporters found out that Ryan and Carpenters Local 13 had falsified his application for the job, the lad resigned.

Asked what impressed the Building Department's hiring committee about the demonstrably wet-behind-the-ears Ryan, Building Commissioner Stan Kaderbek offered, "His writing samples were good."

—David Mulcahey

Sue Niederer grieves over a memorial called *Eyes Wide Open*, created by the American Friends Service committee, which includes a pair of boots for every U.S. soldier killed in Iraq.

# The Home Front

By Hans Johnson

On September 17, it came to pass in New Jersey that party faithful applauding a chipper talk about the war by Laura Bush shouted down a mother in their midst and made sure she was arrested. She had come from a nearby town to ask a simple question: Why was her only son, Seth Dvorin, 24, sent to Iraq like a sitting duck? And how many more families will be forced to make a needless sacrifice like hers?

"When they reacted to the question I shouted by surrounding me and shouting me down, it felt like ignorance," says Sue Niederer. "People have a right to speak. They could hear my question. Maybe they could learn something if it ever got answered."

Anyone seeking evidence of the Iraq war's lasting impact on small-town America need look no further than this mom from western New Jersey. Niederer has become a vocal critic of the war and the Bush administration after losing her son to a bomb he was disarming south of Baghdad while on patrol with his division.

"I can't go back to how I was," says Niederer. "Now I see what this war is. I can't accept it. I have to be a forceful voice for what we need to do as a country. Supporting our troops means getting them home before more are killed or maimed."

The explosion that killed Dvorin in early February came just days after his return to the occupied nation from a two-week stateside visit with his family.

During that break, Niederer overheard her formerly mild-mannered son telephoning his commanding officer to beg for additional resources. He needed better tracking systems to summon specially trained troops who could disarm the bombs that his unit detected. She recalls his rising voice as he had to repeat himself, as if not being heard. "I need computers and GPS systems. My men need these or they're going to be dead!"

It was not the first stonewall he had encountered. Dvorin entered the Army two years ago after finishing his degree from Rutgers in a financial hole. He saw enlistment as a chance to pursue intelligence-related work later on, a hope that his recruiter inflated with vague pledges. Niederer urged him to get these job-placement pledges down in black and white. He tried and got ridicule instead, according to a conversation Niederer recounted in an interview with *Counterpunch*. "Your mother wears your pants for you?" the recruiting agent asked.

After her son's death, Niederer ran into more stonewalls. She tried to meet her son's coffin, which the Army flew back to Dover Air Force Base in Delaware. Her request was refused, but her protests helped break down barriers to other families' requests to gather their loved ones' remains.

Niederer has become a leader in Military Families Speak Out ([www.mfso.org](http://www.mfso.org)), which now encompasses more than 1,900 households. In their continuing quest for answers, she and several other relatives of the dead and the deployed kept vigil outside the Republican convention in New York. Her own husband, once loyal to Bush, has had a marked change of heart.

After her arrest in New Jersey, Niederer saw the charges against her dropped. Still, the GOP issued some parting shots: A Republican member of the state assembly sniped that she should "find something better to do with her time." And on September 22, five days after her arrest, the Secret Service honed in on Niederer's *Counterpunch* interview in which she vented anger against Bush, saying she "wanted to rip his head off." Niederer insists she meant no harm by the comments. She was only thinking of her son. ■

HANS JOHNSON writes on labor, religion and politics for *In These Times*.



# You Call *This* a Democracy?

**T**HERE IS NOTHING QUITE AS HYPOCRITICAL AS A politician preaching the virtues of democracy while doing everything he can to destroy it. But as Election Day approaches, that is exactly what is happening.

President Bush is traveling the country bragging about supposedly bringing democracy to Iraq and Afghanistan while waging a stealth campaign far different from his rhetoric here at home. Unwilling to wage a fight within legal bounds and undeterred by the odious stench of the 2000 debacle, the president has deployed his operatives to rig the outcome on November 2.

Before you call this conspiracy theory, read on:

- In August 2003, the head of one of the biggest manufacturers of voting machines wrote a fundraising letter saying he is “committed to helping Ohio deliver its electoral votes to the president next year.” According to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Walden O’Dell, CEO of Diebold Inc., also “attended a strategy pow-wow with wealthy Bush benefactors—known as Rangers and Pioneers—at the president’s Crawford, Texas, ranch earlier this month.” The next week, he invited guests to a \$1,000-a-plate fundraiser for the Ohio GOP at his mansion in the Cleveland suburbs. This is the man whose machines have no paper trail and will be used by at least 8 million voters in the upcoming election.
- In June 2004, Florida Gov. Jeb Bush and his political appointees used the guise of clearing felons off voter rolls to hide an attempt to disenfranchise 48,000 traditionally Democratic voters. The list, which was disproportionately African-American, was rife with inaccuracies. Additionally, in a state with a heavily Republican Cuban population, a technical error caused the names of thousands of Hispanic felons to be excluded from the list. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has asked the Department of Justice to investigate.
- In July, a top GOP official in Michigan gave voice to Republican efforts to squelch minority voter turnout. State Rep. John Pappageorge said, “If we do not suppress the Detroit vote, we’re going to have a tough time in this election.” What did he mean? While Michigan is predominantly white (78 percent), Detroit has an overwhelmingly minority population (88 percent). This strategy is no accident: Polls show that more than four in five blacks believe Bush did not legitimately win the election and two-thirds think deliberate attempts were made

- to prevent black voters’ ballots from being counted.
- Also in July, the *Miami Herald* found the Republican Party staking out naturalization ceremonies for new immigrants to trick them into registering Republican. Specifically, GOP operatives have been handing out voter registration forms to new citizens just moments after being sworn in by the U.S. government with the party affiliation box already checked Republican. Once registered, the GOP can target mailing and other campaign outreach to those voters.
- In August, Jeb Bush was at it again—this time having his political appointees at a key county election board hire a law firm with direct connections to the Bush-Cheney campaign. Though the Broward County Elections Board is supposed to be nonpartisan, Bush’s official there hired the law firm Blosser & Sayfie. James Blosser is a top fundraiser for the Bush-Cheney campaign, and Justin Sayfie is co-chairman of the Bush-Cheney campaign in Broward County. The firm, which was fired after public outrage, was to represent the county in legal challenges should another election debacle occur.

Outrageous, certainly, but at least we have our ability to freely protest against them without being harassed, right? Wrong. The *New York Times* reports that the FBI has “contacted” a number of people who have organized political demonstrations, forcing some to appear before a grand jury to disclose what they know of protest plans. Want to take your complaint to the top? Think again. The *Albuquerque Journal* reports that those who wanted to attend a speech by Cheney were refused at the door unless they signed a pledge to vote GOP in November. Meanwhile, the *Washington Post* reported that the Secret Service, led by the president’s top personal aide, accosted peaceful AIDS demonstrators during a Bush speech last month. Demonstrators were “shoved and pulled from the room—some by their hair, one by her bra straps—and then arrested for disorderly conduct and detained.”

Our political system is starting to resemble the kind of banana republic authoritarianism we claim to despise. The only things missing are government-sponsored mural portraits of George W. Bush splashed on sides of buildings and state-run television.

Who knows? With Bush’s aircraft carrier stunt, Fox News’ incessant propaganda, and the White House now telling journalists it has a “different set of rules” for those who give too much coverage to the president’s opponents, anything is possible. ■

Our political system is starting to resemble the kind of banana republic authoritarianism we claim to despise.

**DAVID SIROTA**  
is director of  
strategic  
communications  
at the Center  
for American  
Progress and a  
former spokesman  
for Rep. Bernie  
Sanders (I-Vt.).





## Back Talk *By Susan J. Douglas*

# Get Real, Man

Bush is  
not man  
enough to  
take care of  
those less  
fortunate  
than he.

**D**EAR MR. KERRY:  
On September 11, the History Channel aired a documentary based on the 9/11 Commission report. Did you see it?

Here, again, we saw a slightly stuttering Condoleezza Rice admit that the infamous Presidential Daily Briefing of August 6, 2001—when Mr. Bush was spending a month whacking brush on his ranch—was titled “Bin Laden Determined to Strike the United States.” We saw her dismissing this information as “historical,” and Richard Clarke indicting the administration for doing next to nothing to combat terrorism before 9/11 and obsessively setting its sights on Iraq after. We saw footage of Team Bush insisting that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction, followed by the revelation that he had none. We saw the committee note there was no connection between al Qaeda and Iraq.

The hearings dominated the news this spring—when not overshadowed by Abu Ghraib—and Mr. Bush’s approval ratings sank below 50 percent. Shortly after, Michael Moore’s *Fahrenheit 9/11* broke box office records for a documentary and treated us to the spectacle of our president sitting paralyzed in front of preschoolers for seven minutes while the nation was under attack. In addition to this disastrous foreign policy record, Mr. Bush has an equally dreadful record on the environment, civil liberties, women’s issues, jobs, healthcare and education.

Mr. Kerry, why are you losing to this guy?

Everyone is giving you advice, and we are heartened to see you may be taking some of it. Your attacks on Bush’s conduct of the war in Iraq, especially your speech at NYU, are rallying your dispirited faithful, getting you lead-story coverage and highlighting the utter stupidity and arrogance of Rumsfeld’s delusion of a two-month victory march through Iraq.

People are telling you to stay on message, to attack the president on national security and to get away from Vietnam. All of this makes sense. But the main thing Team Bush has sought to do—given it has no record to run on—is to make this election a referendum on masculinity.

As a feminist I wish the election were not about who is more “manly,” but this is the culture in which we live. The “girlie man” jokes, the over-used “flip flop” attacks, the ridicule of your use of the word “sensitive” when discussing the need for diplomacy, Bush’s determined performance of certainty about Iraq despite evidence of the debacle there: All are designed to make voters see

you as not “man enough” to be president.

It is this perception you must reverse by November. The main gap your campaign must expose is that between Bush’s macho posturing and the cowardice of his policies.

Explain to the voters that Bush is not “man enough” to admit when he and his aides have made a mistake. He is not man enough to fire those, like Rumsfeld, who have presided over one foreign policy scandal after the next. He is too chicken to take on his vice president’s financial interests in the “rebuilding” of Iraq.

Bush is not man enough to take care of those less fortunate than he. New census data shows that the poverty rate has risen under Mr. Bush, as has the gap between the rich and the middle class. More Americans than ever—a projected 45 million—are without health insurance, millions of them children. Despite some job increases over the summer—many of them in low-paying service-sector jobs—about 2 million jobs have been lost during the Bush administration. The national debt and deficit are ballooning under the Bush tax cuts. A real man would not pass these debts onto his and others’ children. A real man would do something, not stand by like a pampered wimp while men and women struggle to feed their families.

A real man would not attack the women of the world; those who are secure in their masculinity do not bully those with less power. Everything Team Bush has done—making sure the federal judges he appoints pass a litmus test on abortion; attempting to undermine Title IX; attempting to undermine Head Start; attempting to increase the number of hours mothers must work to collect workfare; seeking to impose abstinence-only sex education and abortion gag rules here and around the world; refusing to extend the assault weapons ban; and sending, in disproportionate numbers, the children of rural women to the quagmire in Iraq—shows Team Bush’s contempt for women.

Mr. Kerry, recent polls show you losing support among women. A real man, a confident man, would reach out and persuade them that he will do a better job of taking care of and protecting their families.

The debates will be crucial for you. Please, no “lock box,” no strutting around the stage. You must be, simply enough, presidential—firm, unwavering, strong, pointed, compassionate, unflappable. You must drive home that Bush—too passive before 9/11 and too misguided after, too tied to corporate America—is the one not “man enough” for the job. ■

**SUSAN J. DOUGLAS**  
is a professor of  
communications at  
the University  
of Michigan and  
author of *Where the  
Girls Are: Growing  
up Female with the  
Mass Media*.



# The Right Choice for Terror

**P**RESIDENT GEORGE BUSH IS “THE BEST RECRUITING sergeant ever for al Qaeda,” said Sir Ivor Roberts, the British ambassador to Italy, at a closed conference of British and Italian diplomats. According to the September 21 edition of the British-based *Guardian*, Roberts let the comment slip during a discussion on which candidate Europeans would back if they voted in U.S. elections. Most would vote John Kerry, Roberts said, but “if anyone is ready to celebrate the eventual reelection of Bush, it’s al Qaeda.”

The British government of Tony Blair understandably condemned Roberts’ remarks. But among many international observers, his off-the-cuff comments have become conventional wisdom.

And that should be no surprise: The Bush administration’s religion-laced war on terrorism is precisely the kind of campaign radical Islamists have long accused the West of conducting. The “war of the civilizations” theme evoked by neoconservative ideologues and other Bush partisans neatly mirrors the vision of Osama bin Laden and his fellow Islamists.

That’s one reason recent remarks from various Republican functionaries suggesting terrorists would prefer a Kerry victory ring so hollow and seem so calculated to inject fear into the electorate.

The latest politician to play the terrorist card was House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.), who last week warned that al Qaeda would seek to influence the election and said it would prefer “somebody who would file a lawsuit with the World Court or something, rather than respond with troops.”

Hastert was speaking at an event featuring Vice President Dick Cheney, who struck a similar theme a week earlier when he said terrorists would hit the nation again “if we make the wrong choice” in the election. The speaker and vice president are clearly trying to scare undecided voters off the fence.

Their fear-infected message boils down to this: Democrats are too weak to stand up to terrorists.

The GOP’s chest-thumping rhetoric exemplifies its low-road appeal to the U.S. electorate. Republican strategists apparently believe fear is their best ally, and they have a point: A fearful electorate is more likely to vote for Bush’s swashbuckling, testosterone foreign policy.

But by trudging down this low road, the GOP opens itself to the much more plausible argument that Bush is Osama’s choice. And by ramping up the fear quotient, the Bush partisans actually provoke the question of whether the administration’s unilateral militarism has made U.S. citizens safer.

As Ambassador Roberts’ comments made clear, Islamists who make up the ranks of al Qaeda and similar groups are much more likely to welcome four more polarizing years of the bellicose Bushites.

In his recently published book *Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror*, a senior U.S. intelligence official (under the pen name Anonymous) said the invasion of Iraq has played right into Osama bin Laden’s hands by inflaming the Islamic world and enhancing the appeal of his beliefs. “I’m very sure they can’t have a better administration for them than the one they have now,” the author told the



*Guardian* in a June 19 interview about the book.

Anonymous is hardly alone in that view. The British-based International Institute for Strategic Studies also reported last year that the war in Iraq has swollen the ranks of al Qaeda and galvanized the Islamic militant group.

And this June, 27 former diplomats and Foreign Service officers formed a bipartisan group called Diplomats and Military Commanders for Change to urge the ouster of a Bush regime it said was unable to handle the responsibilities of global leadership. “Our security has been weakened,” the group wrote. “Never in the two and a quarter centuries of our history has the United States been so isolated among the nations, so broadly feared and distrusted.”

Charles W. Freeman Jr., a former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia and a member of the group, told reporters at a Washington news conference, “I think we will in time come to be very ashamed of this period in history and of the role some people in the administration played in setting the tone and setting the rules.”

But we don’t feel that shame, yet. And the Bush administration seems determined to give us more to be ashamed of: its arrogant, extrajudicial unilateralism is feeding the perception that we are targeting the Islamic world for conquest. ■

The ‘war of the civilizations’ theme evoked by neoconservative ideologues neatly mirrors the vision of Osama bin Laden and his fellow Islamists.

**SALIM MUWAKKIL** is a senior editor at *In These Times*, a contributing columnist to the *Chicago Tribune* and a *Crime and Communities Media Fellow* of the *Open Society Institute*.

# PASSION OF THE RIGHT

The uses of persecution

By David Mulcahey



**T**HE PITCHFORKS ARE OUT IN THE SWING states. Direct-mail pieces are showing up in West Virginia warning the faithful that dark things are in store if the hated “liberal agenda” prevails in November. “Vote Republican to protect our families,” the letter admonishes. A photo of the Bible appears, stamped with the word “BANNED.” Another photo pictures a homosexual on his knees placing a ring on the finger of his man-spouse. This scene bears the legend “ALLOWED.”

A bit surprisingly—but, then again, not—the letter’s return address is given as the Republican National Committee.

Certainly, the piece falls short of the best work Republicans are capable of. Jesse Helms’ creative team set the bar pretty high years ago when it warned North Carolina voters, “Your tax dollars are being used to pay for grade school education [that] teaches our children CANNIBALISM, WIFE-SWAPPING and the MURDER of infants and the elderly are acceptable behavior.”

With a month to go before the election, the West Virginia letter is bound to be surpassed by even grosser appeals to fear and loathing. It happens every election cycle, a torrent of ads and direct-mail appeals explaining to the white voter of small-town and suburban America the ways he is victimized by liberal treachery. The way the liberal elite mocks his piety and his patriotism. The way liberal government taxes him and uses the proceeds to poison “the culture.” The way liberal doves shrink before America’s enemies, because they too are the enemies of Americans.

When such pandering makes its inevitable appearance in campaigns, liberals just as inevitably register their shock and incredulity. Do people really buy this crap? Can it be that, in 2004, the center-left is still paying a political price for supporting civil rights and protesting against the Vietnam War? How much longer can the Republicans possibly ride the wave of white lumpen resentment?

The answers, respectively, are yes, yes and forever. The conservative backlash that began 40 years ago with the candidacy of Barry Goldwater has never been healthier or more productive. Its prospects for growth and expansion into hitherto unexploited markets are excellent—even, perhaps especially, if John Kerry is elected president. I only wish I could buy stock in it.

Some observers see what they hopefully regard as a counter-backlash gaining steam on the left. “Bush hatred,” as the right-wing controversialists call it, has indeed garnered the Democratic Party a bit of the fire, youthful energy and populist appeal it has lacked for more than a generation. Moreover, it finally appears to have dawned on the limousine class of liberal that the Republicans now occupy the commanding heights of political power and are preparing to shell the hell out of what remains of the New Deal, the Great Society—and, indeed, what remains of the Democratic Party. In other words, the limousine liberals are stuck with us in Sarajevo.

So we’re all pulling together in 2004. Call it a popular front. A movement, however, it ain’t.



## Rage displaced

To understand how much work progressives have to do in the United States, one need only look back on the stupendous revolution pulled off by the conservative movement. Its signal achievement—and one that continues to baffle deep thinkers of the center and left—was to win the hearts and minds of vast numbers of Americans who ought to have been, by the standard calculations of the time, easy marks for economic populism.

The closer one looks at the backlash, the more brilliant this achievement seems. Consider the two red-letter years for conservative militancy, 1978 and 1994. The first saw the advance party of new-style conservative populists—Newt Gingrich, to name only one—usher into Washington. The latter marked their conquest of the U.S. Congress. Each of these events took place against a backdrop of deep economic troubles for the country's working and middle classes. Indeed, the late 1970s and the early 1990s were pretty much defined by the deep discouragement of working stiff and their resentment of the economic elite. How, then, did these times give us Gingrich?

The New Right understood that for their party to succeed in adverse times, it had to—in the words of tax rebel Howard Phillips—"organize discontent." John Dolan, an early conservative political action committee operative echoed this sentiment, boasting that he conceived his mission to "stir up hostilities. We are trying to be divisive. ... The shriller you are the better it is to raise money." Not just to raise money, of course, but to build a movement. Direct-mail mavens like Richard Viguerie, himself the son of the Midwestern working class, understood how to work their humble brethren into a lather about issues with largely symbolic significance to the majority of voters—affirmative action, abortion, gun control. Political power, the New Right understood, grows out of the mailbox of a pissed-off gun owner.

One of the bizarre contradictions of the nascent reactionary movement, as historian Christopher Lasch noted, was that the target audience for these backlash solicitations was anything but a natural constituency for conservatism. Polling data at the time of California's great property-tax *revanche* indicated that the movement's adherents tended actually to favor such unconservative ideas as the redistribution of wealth.

Moreover, the New Right grasped that many of the so-called social issues were

in fact class issues—that the high-minded principles axiomatic among educated, well-off liberals could be distorted beyond recognition when viewed through the prism of class. Decriminalizing abortion, for example, to its proponents meant freeing women from the "destiny" of biology, or alleviating the burden of poor women and families. To a great many with working-class attitudes or dispositions—what today's political jargon calls "values"—abortion was a moral horror. It took little to convince such people that the only ends abortion could possibly serve were the extreme self-centeredness of the rich or the coddling of the poor.

It took little to convince them, in other words, that abortion—and busing, and affir-

## Poor little rich guys

All these enterprises were investments in an ambitious rhetorical project. Here was a party remaking the American political system according to the dictates of the monied interests, all the while presenting itself as the standard-bearer for the humble and neglected. Consumed by power lust, the conservative movement continually played the martyr, spoke of its persecution at the hands of a liberal overlord class. Amazingly, people bought it. The investment paid off.

Not only did the conceit sell, it assumed the dimensions of folklore. What was Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ*, for example, but a retelling of the backlash myth

An early conservative political action committee operative conceived his mission as one to 'stir up hostilities. ... We are trying to be divisive.'

mative action, and criminal justice reform, and a host of other issues—were antithetical to their way of life. Liberal moral vanity had been foisted on them against their will.

And so flowered the trope of displaced class rage, where the liberal stood in as a proxy for the boss. The deindustrialization of the '80s and early '90s continued to produce a healthy surplus of discontent, and the bright young operators of the conservative movement continued to organize and channel it to the Republican Party's ends.

Now, many have observed that the New Right could not have worked these wonders without the benefit of regular and staggering subsidies remitted to its campaign funds, PACs and think tanks by the heirs of several industrial and financial fortunes. Again, however, one can only stand in awe of the political acumen at work. While assiduously attacking the academy for its liberal slant and declining standards, conservative benefactors set up think tanks as rival sources of authority in public discourse (free, incidentally, from the burdensome professional standards of the academy, such as peer review). Loudly bewailing the hopelessly liberal bias of the media, conservative money men funded magazines, newspapers, television programs, cable TV networks, university chairs and symposia, and made sure that every college in the land had some version of the *Dartmouth Review* operating on campus.

with biblical scenery? The publicity campaign was carefully planned and executed to make sure that all the usual suspects—the *New York Times*, the liberal church folk, the PC crowd, the Jews—could scourge poor Mel in plain view of the nation's fundagelicals. They repaid him seven times sevenfold for his trouble.

No, the backlash narrative no longer needs to be explained. We take it in like the air we breathe. The millions of fans of Bill O'Reilly, Sean Hannity and Rush Limbaugh, the Christians who hold vigils for fetuses and agitate for school prayer, the proud displayers of flags and yellow ribbons, all share this common refrain: We are victims, and we deserve our revenge.

If the Bush administration is returned to power, will the great founding myth of the backlash lose its luster? Perhaps. After all, Newt Gingrich rode high as an outsider, but he met his Waterloo when he actually had to make policy. (On the other hand, as Grover Norquist, the Ratko Mladic of Republican strategists, suggests, it may just be an opportunity to annihilate the Democratic Party.)

John Kerry hopes to squeak out a close victory by holding to the center. The Republicans, meanwhile, are sticking to the strategy that built their movement: Divide and conquer.

Perhaps, this year, the center will hold, giving Kerry the win. But what the Democrats need to do is build a movement of their own. So far, there's no sign of it. ■

# IS IRAN NE

**The Pentagon neocons who brought war in Iraq have a new target.**



BEHROUZ MEHRI / AFP

# EXT?

## ght you the BY TOM BARRY



An Iranian man passes by an anti-U.S. mural on a wall of the former U.S. embassy in Tehran.

**S**HORTLY AFTER 9/11, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Douglas Feith began coordinating Pentagon planning for an invasion of Iraq. The challenge facing Feith, the No. 3 civilian in the Defense Department, was to establish a policy rationale for the attack. At the same time, Feith's ideological cohorts in the Pentagon began planning to take the administration's "global war on terrorism," not only to Baghdad, but also to Damascus and Tehran.

In August it was revealed that one of Feith's Middle East policy wonks, Lawrence Franklin, shared classified documents—including a draft National Security Presidential Directive formulated in Feith's office that outlines a more aggressive U.S. national security strategy regarding Iran—with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and Israeli officials. The FBI is investigating the document transfer as a case of espionage.

This spy scandal raises two concerns for U.S. diplomats and foreign policy experts from across the political spectrum. One, that U.S. Middle East policy is being directed by neoconservative ideologues variously employed, coordinated or sanctioned by Feith's Pentagon office. And two, that U.S. Middle East policy is too closely aligned with that of Israeli hardliners close to U.S. neoconservatives.

Feith is joined in reshaping a U.S. foreign Middle East policy—one that mirrors or complements the policies of the hardliners in Israel—by a web of neoconservative policy institutes, pressure groups and think tanks. These include the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies (IASPS), Center for Security Policy (CSP) and the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA)—all groups with which Feith has been or still is closely associated.

### First Iraq, now Iran

In the months after 9/11, rather than relying on the CIA, State Department or the Pentagon's own Defense Intelligence Agency for intelligence about Iraq's ties to international terrorists and its development of weapons of mass destruction, neoconservatives in the Pentagon set up a special intelligence shop called the Office of Special Plans (OSP). The founders, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and Feith, are fervent advocates of a regional restructuring in the

Middle East that includes regime change in Iran, Syria and, ultimately, Saudi Arabia.

Not having its own intelligence-gathering infrastructure, Feith's office relied on fabricated information supplied by Ahmed Chalabi, an Iraqi expatriate who led the Iraqi National Congress (INC). In 1998, Chalabi's group was funded by the Iraq Liberation Act, a congressional initiative that was backed by neoconservative institutions such as AIPAC, CSP, Project for the New American Century (PNAC) and the American Enterprise Institute (AEI).

At the same time that Chalabi and other INC militants were visiting Feith's office, so were Israeli officials, including generals, according to Lt. Col Karen Kwiakowski, who formerly worked in the Near East and South Asia office under Feith's supervision. Like the neoconservatives in the United States, Israeli hardliners believe that Israel's long-term security can best be ensured by a radical makeover of Middle East politics enforced by the superior military power of the United States and Israel.

It now appears that Feith's Office of Policy, which was creating dubious intelligence rationales for the Iraq war, was also establishing a covert national security strategy for regime change in Iran—most likely through a combination of preemptive military strikes (either by the United States or Israel) and support for a coalition of Iranian dissidents.

### Covert operators

This covert operation is now the subject of an FBI espionage investigation and inquiries by the House Judiciary Committee and Select Senate Intelligence Committee—inquiries that have been postponed until after the election.

Without notifying the State Department or the CIA, Feith's office has been involved in back channel operations that have included a series of secret meetings in Washington, Rome and Paris over the last three years. These meetings have brought together Office of Policy officials and consultants (Franklin, Harold Rhode and Michael Ledeen), an expatriate Iranian arms dealer (Manichur Ghorbanifar), AIPAC lobbyists, Ahmed Chalabi, and Italian and Israeli intelligence officers, among others.

Franklin, an Iran expert who was pulled into Feith's policy shop from the Defense Intelligence Agency, met repeatedly with Naor Gilon, the head of the political department at the Israeli embassy in Washington. According to U.S. intelligence officials, during





Michael Ledeen



Douglas Feith

one of those meetings, Franklin offered to hand over the National Security Presidential Directive on Iran. For more than two years, an FBI counterintelligence operation has been monitoring Washington meetings between AIPAC, Franklin and Israeli officials. Investigators suspect that the draft security document was passed to Israel through an intermediary, likely AIPAC.

Franklin, who is known to be close to militant Iranian and Iranian-American dissidents, is the common link to another series of meetings in Rome and Paris involving Ledeen (an American Enterprise Institute scholar who was a special consultant to Feith), Harold Rhode (a cohort of Ledeen's from the Iran-Contra days, who is currently employed by Feith to prepare regime-change strategy plans for Middle Eastern countries on the neoconservatives' hit list), and Ghorbanifar (an arms dealer who claims to speak for the Iranian opposition). These meetings addressed, among other things, strategies for organizing Iranians who would be willing to cooperate with a U.S.-spearheaded regime change agenda for Iran.

## Echoes of Iran-Contra

This cast of characters indicates that U.S. Middle East policy involves covert and illegal operations that resemble the Iran-Contra operations in the '80s. Not only are the neo-conservatives once again the leading actors, these new covert operations involve at least two Iran-Contra conspirators: Ledeen, who has repeatedly complained that the Bush administration has let its regime-change plans

for Iran and Syria "gather mold in the bowels of the bureaucracy"; and Ghorbanifar, who the CIA considers a "serial fabricator" with whom the agency prohibits its agents from having any association.

During the Iran-Contra operation, Israel served as a conduit for U.S. arms sales to Iran. The proceeds went largely to fund the Nicaraguan Contras despite a congressional ban on military support to the counterrevolutionaries. This time around, however, the apparent aim of these back channel dealings is to move U.S.-Iran relations beyond the reach of State Department diplomats and into the domain of the Pentagon ideologues. Ledeen, the neoconservative point man in the Iran regime-change campaign, wrote in the National Review Online that too many U.S. government officials "prefer to schmooze with the mullahs" rather than promote "democratic revolution in Iran."

In early 2002, Ledeen, along with Morris Amitay, a former AIPAC executive director as well as a CSP adviser, founded the Coalition for Democracy in Iran (CDI) to build congressional and administration support for Iran regime change. AIPAC and CDI helped ensure passage of recent House and Senate resolutions that condemn Iran, call for tighter sanctions and express support for Iranian dissidents.

The CDI includes members of key neo-conservative policy institutes and think tanks, including Raymond Tanter of the Washington Institute for Near East Affairs (WINEA)—an off-shoot of AIPAC—and Frank Gaffney, president of CSP. In the '90s,

Feith served as the board chairman of CSP, whose slogan is "peace through strength," and where Woolsey currently serves as co-chairman of the advisory committee. Other neoconservative organizations represented in the coalition by more than one member include AEI and Freedom House.

Rob Sobhani, an Iranian-American, who like Ledeen and other neoconservatives is a friend of the Shah's son Reza Pahlavi, is also a CDI member. CDI expresses the common neoconservative position that constructive engagement with the Iranian government—even with the democratic reformists—is merely appeasement. Instead, the United States should proceed immediately to a regime change strategy working closely with the "Iranian people." Representatives of the Iranian people that could be the front men for a regime change strategy, according to the neo-conservatives, include, the Shah's son, Reza Pahlavi (who has also cultivated close ties with the Likud Party in Israel), the Iraq-based guerrilla group Mujahadin-E Khalq (MEK), and expatriate arms dealer Ghorbanifar.

The CDI's Ledeen, Amitay and Sobhani were featured speakers at a May 2003 forum on "the future of Iran," sponsored by AEI, the Hudson Institute and the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. The forum, chaired by the Hudson Institute's Meyrav Wurmser, the Israeli-born wife of David Wurmser (he serves as Cheney's leading expert on Iran and Syria), included a presentation by Uri Lubrani of Israel's Ministry of Defense. Summarizing the sentiment of neoconservative ideologues and strategists,

Meyrav Wurmser said: “Our fight against Iraq was only a battle in a long war. It would be ill-conceived to think we can deal with Iraq alone. We must move on, and faster.”

JINSA, a neoconservative organization established in 1976 that fosters closer strategic and military ties between the United States and Israel, also has its sights on Iran. At a JINSA policy forum in April 2003 titled “Time to Focus on Iran—The Mother of Modern Terrorism,” Ledeen declared, “The time for diplomacy is at an end; it is time for a free Iran, free Syria and free Lebanon.”

JINSA, along with CSP, serves as one of the main institutional links to the military-industrial complex for neoconservatives. Ledeen served as JINSA’s first executive director and was JINSA’s “Godfather,” according to Amitay. Amitay is a JINSA vice chair. JINSA board members or advisers also include former CIA director James Woolsey, former Rep. Jack Kemp and the AEI’s Joshua Muravchik. After he joined the administration, Feith resigned from JINSA’s board of advisers, as did Vice President Dick Cheney and Undersecretary of State for Arms Control John Bolton.

Like other neoconservatives, Feith sees Israel and the United States sharing common national-security concerns in the Middle East. In 1996, Feith was a member of a study team organized by IASPS and led by Richard Perle that also included representatives from JINSA, the AIPAC-related WINEA, and Meyrav and David Wurmser.

The resulting report, *A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm*, advised Israeli Prime Minister-elect Benjamin Netanyahu to “work closely with Turkey and Jordan to contain, destabilize and roll back” regional threats, to help overthrow Saddam Hussein, and to strike Syrian military targets in Lebanon and possibly in Syria proper. It recommended that Israel forge a foreign and domestic policy based on a “new intellectual foundation” that “provides the nation the room to engage every possible energy on rebuilding Zionism.”

Ideology alone does not explain Feith’s close connections to Israel. His old law firm Feith & Zell, which has an office in Israel, specialized in representing arms dealers and missile defense contractors. The firm has boasted of its role in facilitating technology transfers between U.S. and Israel military contractors.

## Zionism runs deep

Feith’s right-wing Zionism typifies neo-conservatism. The Pentagon’s advocacy of an invasion of Iraq and, more recently, its

## Neoconservatives and Their Affiliations

Richard Perle	AEI, CSP, DOD, HI, IASPS, JINSA, PNAC
Douglas Feith	CSP, IASPS, JINSA, ZOA, DOD
Morris Amitay	AIPAC, CSP, CDI, JINSA
John Bolton	AEI, DOS, JINSA, PNAC
Michael Ledeen	AEI, CDI, JINSA, DOD
Dick Cheney	AEI, JINSA, PNAC
David Wurmser	AEI, IASPS, OVP
Joshua Muravchik	AEI, CDI, JINSA
James Woolsey	CSP, CDI, JINSA
Paul Wolfowitz	HI, DOD, PNAC
Frank Gaffney	CSP, CDI, PNAC
Meyrav Wurmser	HI, IASPS
Lawrence Franklin	DOD
Harold Rhode	DOD
Rob Sobhani	CDI

## Acronym Key

AEI	American Enterprise Institute
AIPAC	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
CSP	Center for Security Policy
CDI	Coalition for Democracy in Iran
DOD	Department of Defense
DOS	Department of State
HI	Hudson Institute
IASPS	Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies
JINSA	Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs
OVP	Office of the Vice President
PNAC	Project for the New American Century
ZOA	Zionist Organization of America

hard-line postures with respect to Iran and Syria, must be considered in light of the Zionist convictions and Likud Party connections of those shaping the administration’s Middle East policy.

Through the early ’70s anti-totalitarianism was the core political tenet that united neoconservatives and their forerunners. In this Manichean political worldview, the forces of good and democracy led by the United States were under constant threat by the forces of evil as embodied in communism and fascism. At home, the “present

danger” came in the form of appeasers, pro-détente advocates, isolationists and peace activists who shied away from direct and preemptive military confrontation with the totalitarian empire builders.

Although the early neoconservatives were largely Jewish, most were not Zionists. In the ’50s and through most of the ’60s, neocons such as Irving Kristol—widely known as the father of neoconservatism—regarded Israel more as a key Cold War ally than as the biblically ordained homeland of God’s chosen people.

After the 1967 Six Day War and the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the Jewish neoconservatives embraced their Judaic roots and incorporated Zionism into their worldview. Anti-totalitarianism remains a core neo-conservative foreign policy principle. Since the end of the Cold War, neoconservatism has focused on the Muslim world and to a lesser extent China—but is now tied to the ideological and political imperatives of right-wing Zionism.

year, Feith spoke to a 150-member ZOA lobbying mission to Congress that called for “U.S. action against Palestinian Arab killers of Americans” and for moving the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The ZOA lobbying group also criticized the Clinton administration for its “refusal to criticize illegal Palestinian Arab construction in Jerusalem and the territories, which is far more extensive than Israeli construction there.”

In addition to his close ties with the right-

**It now appears that Feith’s Office of Policy, which was creating dubious intelligence rationales for the Iraq war, was also establishing a covert national security strategy for regime change in Iran.**

Feith’s own Zionism is rooted in his family. In 1997, the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) honored Dalck Feith and his son Douglas at its annual dinner, describing the Feiths as “noted Jewish philanthropists and pro-Israel activists.” The father was awarded the group’s special Centennial Award “for his lifetime of service to Israel and the Jewish people,” while Douglas received the “prestigious Louis D. Brandeis Award.”

Dalck Feith was a militant in Betar, a Zionist youth movement founded in Riga, Latvia in 1923, by Ze’ev Jabotinsky, an admirer of Mussolini. Betar, whose members spouted militaristic slogans modeled after fascist movements, was associated with the Revisionist Movement, which evolved in Poland to become the Herut Party, the forerunner of the Likud Party.

In 1999, Douglas Feith contributed an essay to a book titled *The Dangers of a Palestinian State*, published by the ZOA. That same

wing ZOA, before assuming his current position at the Pentagon Feith co-founded One Jerusalem, a group whose objective is “saving a united Jerusalem as the undivided capital of Israel.” Other cofounders of this Jerusalem-based organization are David Steinmann, chairman of JINSA, board member of the CSP and chairman of the executive committee of the Middle East Forum; Dore Gold, a top adviser to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon; and Natan Sharansky, Israel’s Minister of Diaspora Affairs and current chairman of One Jerusalem.

One Jerusalem actively courts the involvement of Christian Zionists. In May 2003, One Jerusalem hosted the Interfaith Zionist Summit in Washington, DC, that brought together Christian Zionists such as Gary Bauer of American Values and Roberta Combs of the Christian Coalition with Daniel Pipes of the Middle East Forum and Mort Klein of the ZOA.

## Dual agendas

The Israeli government and AIPAC have denied that they engaged in any criminal operations involving classified Pentagon documents about Iran. Sharansky said, “There are absolutely no attempts to involve any member of the Jewish community and any general American citizens to spy for Israel against the United States.” He observed that the investigation of the Pentagon’s Office of Policy staff most likely stemmed from an inter-agency rivalry within the U.S. government.

For his part, Ledeen told *Newsweek* that the espionage allegations against Franklin, his close friend, were “nonsensical.” Ledeen and other neoconservatives see the investigations as instigated by the State Department and the CIA to undermine the credibility of neoconservatives and to obstruct their Middle East restructuring agenda, particularly regime change in Iran.

Given the depth of congressional bipartisan support for Israel and close ties with right-wing Israeli lobbying groups like AIPAC, it’s unlikely that the investigations will provide the much-needed public scrutiny of the dual and complementary agendas that unite U.S. and Israeli hardliners. Feith’s policymaking fiefdom inside and outside of government continues to drive U.S. policy in the Middle East with no evidence that these radical policies are increasing the national security and welfare of either the United States or Israel.

## Iran rumbles

Meanwhile tensions with Iran deepen—which suits the Iran war party just fine. “Stability,” Michael Ledeen once said, “gives me the heebie jeebies.”

On September 21, Iran’s President Mohammed Khatami warned that Iran may withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty if Washington and the International Atomic Energy Commission demand that the country desist from plans to enrich uranium. The Iranian government says that it has no plans to develop nuclear weapons, and international inspectors have not determined otherwise. However, if Iran does proceed with its plans to enrich nearly 40 tons of uranium, which it says will be used to generate electricity, it is commonly acknowledged that in a few years it could produce several nuclear bombs.

But it’s not only the possibility that Iran could emerge as

*Continued on page 30*



**Great Bumperstickers and Cool Anti-Bush T-shirts at: [www.topplebush.com](http://www.topplebush.com)**

**We donate 10% of all sales to defeat Bush!**





# THE AMERICAN PROSPECT

The Driving Force for Change

**There's a better route.**

America's "most influential liberal publication"\* is available by subscription, on the Web, and in bookstores. \**Newsday*

[www.prospect.org](http://www.prospect.org) | 888-MUST-READ

*Democrats will  
need luck and  
local support  
to win back  
the House*



# A Fixer-Upper

BY DAVID MOBERG

**A** solid majority of Americans tell pollsters they think the country is headed in the wrong direction. But as the congressional campaigns got underway in earnest this September, it seemed all too likely that after November 2 the House of Representatives will continue down that same wrong path—with a Republican majority under the strong conservative discipline of Speaker Dennis Hastert (R.-Ill.) and Majority Leader Tom “The Hammer” DeLay (R.-Texas).

The tide can still turn, but most pundits think the odds for a Democratic victory have worsened since early summer. If the Democrats do pick up the additional 11 seats they need to gain control of the House, it will be because of a range of local political circumstances, not a national wave of resentment against Republicans or support for a compelling Democratic program—since there isn’t one. However, a fighting comeback by Kerry, worsening conditions in Iraq, or continued economic difficulties could alter the political climate enough to tip many tight contests.

## **A decade of losses**

For all but a few years from the New Deal until 1994, Democrats controlled the

House, which was typically more liberal than the Senate. But Republicans have held the House since 1994 when Newt Gingrich’s Contract With America sparked a national Republican resurgence. In 2002 Democrats theoretically had a similar opportunity to regain a majority but failed partly because they failed to mount a cohesive national strategy against Bush and Republican congressional leaders.

Over the past decade, House members have served as the shock troops of conservative Republicanism, whether attacking Clinton or supporting the Bush agenda (even pressuring him from the right at times). Indeed, if Kerry wins, a Republican-controlled House may cause him more grief than a Republican Senate.

## **Texas two-step**

The number of competitive races is relatively small, in large part because redistricting in most states heavily favored protection of incumbents, who in any case have strong financial and political advantages. However, the Texas legislature made the Democrats’ task much harder by imposing a highly controversial remap that created five strongly Republican districts where incumbent Democrats have been forced to run, in two instances battling incumbent Republicans.

The Democrats start with the tough task of defending their five Texas incumbents running in districts that are now all considered 60 percent or more Republican. Nevertheless, Texas AFL-CIO spokesman Ed Sills says, “They’re all very different races. We think there are excellent chances in all, but particularly in three or four of them.”

Charles Stenholm, by far the most conservative of the Democrats and a candidate who runs campaign ads showing him with President Bush, may parlay his seniority and agriculture policy influence to victory despite the worst odds on paper. Chet Edwards

and Martin Frost are both moderates with some historic base in their new districts who face strongly contrasting right-wing Republicans. Running as moderately progressive on economics and conservative on social issues, Max Sandlin has some experience winning in a predominantly Republican district, unlike moderate Nick Lampson from a previously Democratic region.

In all these races, however, there's a chance for some resentment boiling up against the Republican redistricting strategy and in favor of well-known Democratic incumbents, particularly after the indictment in late September of three top DeLay aides for illegally using corporate funds in 2002 to win the Republican majority in the state legislature that forced the new districts through.

## East Coast openings

While the Republicans pose serious challenges for some other Democratic incumbents or open seats, especially in the Midwest and South, they are on the defensive in many more races scattered around the nation.

In New York, moderate pro-union Republican Rep. Jack Quinn from the Buffalo area is retiring from a district that Al Gore won strongly in 2000. "That's one the Democrats can and should win," says Dan Cantor, executive director of the Working Families Party, which has endorsed Democratic Assemblyman Brian Higgins. Although Republican Nancy Naples, a Wall Street executive who became county comptroller, is considered a relatively strong candidate, Higgins is a moderately progressive candidate with substantial union support and good political skills who may benefit from voters' continued focus on job losses.

In two other races, Democrats have longer-shot opportunities to take seats away from Republicans. Samara Barend, a 27-year old organizer who played a leading role in getting a new interstate highway approved, has solid support in her upstate district, which is being vacated by Amo Houghton, but it is one of the most Republican districts in the state. In what could be an exciting ideological clash, Frank Barbaro, a judge who was previously one of the most progressive, pro-labor members of the Assembly, could pose a serious challenge to three-term conservative Rep. Vito Fossella in the Staten Island district that Gore carried.

## Scattered chances

But there are also promising prospects in other regions of the country.

In Colorado, Democrats may be buoyed by Kerry's comparatively strong showing and by a vigorous campaign for U.S. Senate. State Rep. John Salazar, older brother of the promising Democratic candidate for Senate and a member of an established Hispanic farming family, has a good chance in an open Republican seat in the far west of the state despite its strong vote for Bush in 2000. Also, Democratic county prosecutor Dave Thomas is considered a tough challenger for freshman Republican Bob Beauprez, who won by only 121 votes in a district that went for Gore.

Nearby in Arizona, Paul Babbitt, brother of former Governor Bruce Babbitt and from the long-established Arizona family, is running in a sprawling district in the northeast of the state with a Democratic edge in registration against a narrowly elected conservative first-term, Rick Renzi, who is not considered an effective campaigner.

In Washington state, Democrats are eyeing two quite different open Republican seats. One in the rural east has been held for a decade by George Nethercutt, who upset Democratic House Speaker Tom Foley and is now running for Senate against incumbent Patty Murray; the other, in the Seattle suburbs, has been held by Republican Jennifer Dunn, a conservative Republican partisan who occasionally casts moderate votes on environmental and social issues. In those respective districts, Spokane businessman Don Barbieri and talk-show host Dave Ross are both moderate political neophytes who are running against Republicans politically at least as far to the right, if not more so, than the retiring members of Congress.

## Down the center

There are fewer opportunities for Democrats to pick off Republican seats in the Midwest, but strategists in Illinois think that businesswoman Melissa Bean may prevail in her second run against ultraconservative Rep. Phil Crane from the northwest "collar county" area around Chicago. Bean, a moderate who pledges to energetically seek funds for transportation and other district needs, attacks Crane as a "seat warmer" (which she actually uses as a campaign gimmick to give donors) who has accomplished little. Much of the growing, newer population doesn't know 35-year veteran Crane (except perhaps for his admission to alcohol treatment four years ago) and trends slightly Democratic despite the overall Republican edge. State Sen. Terry Link, chair of Lake County Democrats, thinks that Democratic Senate candidate Barack Obama's blow-out lead over

archconservative Alan Keyes could help tip the electorate to Bean.

## Enemy territory

Even in the South, Democrats have a chance to pick up seats, most notably in the southeast district of Georgia, which includes several university towns. It's a heavily Democratic district, which Gore won 54 to 45 percent, but it's represented by a very conservative freshman Republican, Max Burns. Underfunded by comparison, county commissioner John Barrow, from Athens, nevertheless has good prospects of winning a district designed by state Democratic legislators for their party.

Although these and other viable Democratic challenges span the country, the congressional races are not so much a manifestation of a strong national party as a grab bag of promising candidacies rooted in local circumstances. But if enough of them win to make a majority, then the likely Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi, at least has the possibility of forging them into a cohesive, progressive force. It's getting that majority that won't be easy. ■

## A RADICALLY DIFFERENT WORLD VIEW IS POSSIBLE

The Gift Economy Inside and Outside  
of Patriarchal Capitalism

Whoever wins the US election, a new cultural alignment is necessary for the survival of the planet. A radically different world view can liberate an alternative culture based on the leadership of women.

**November 13-14, 2004**  
**Clark County Library**  
1401 East Flamingo Road  
Las Vegas, Nevada

**[www.GiftEconomyConference.com](http://www.GiftEconomyConference.com)**

(512) 444-1672

### SPEAKERS

Heide Gottner Abendroth (Germany)

Yvette Abrahams (South Africa)

Paula Gunn Allen (USA)

Ana Isla (Peru/Canada)

Corinne Kumar (India/Tunisia)

Vicki Noble (USA)

Vandana Shiva (India)

Claudia Von Werlhof (Austria)

Genevieve Vaughan (USA) and many others...

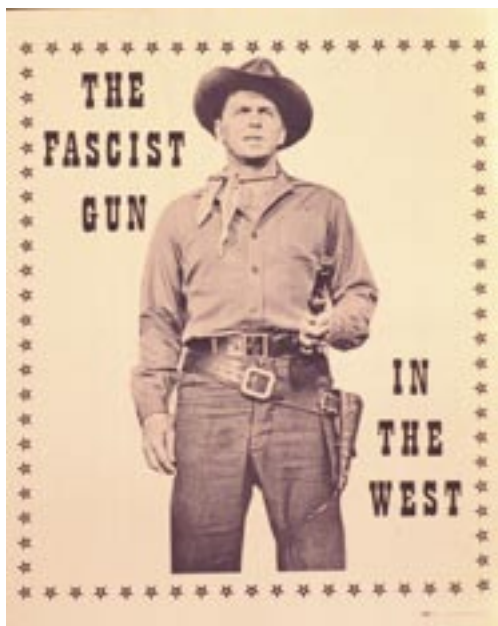




# A Presidential Rogues Gallery

## Satirical Posters from the 1960s to the Present

From the archives of the Center for the Study of Political Graphics



LEFT:  
**The Fascist Gun in the West**  
Vic Dinnerstein  
Los Angeles, California  
Offset  
1980

TOP:  
**Jail to the Chief**  
Vic Dinnerstein and  
John Jeheber  
United States  
Offset  
1973

ABOVE:  
**AIDS Crisis**  
ACT UP/New York  
New York, New York  
Offset  
1990

BY CAROL A. WELLS

Posters that target presidents of the United States demonstrate the power of satire: If you can laugh at someone, you can also challenge them.

Lampooning or lambasting, the posters in *A Presidential Rogues Gallery* hold their subjects to account, make fun of their foibles and serve as a call to action around a range of causes. These posters have nothing in common with the traditional electoral placards that support one candidate over another. Whether mobilizing viewers against war, criticizing social policy,

or exposing hypocrisy, they target Lyndon Johnson, George W. Bush and the six presidents in between. However, the majority of protest posters are directed against Republicans. Not only have Republican presidents been in power much longer—23 of the last 39 years—but they have presided over the majority of the war years—from Vietnam, the Persian Gulf and Iraq to the military interventions in Central America and the Caribbean. No issue provokes more protest than war.

Many of the posters mirror the pop culture of their time,



**Uncle George  
Wants You**  
Stephen Kroninger  
Madison, Wisconsin  
Offset  
1991

**Dough Nation**  
Robbie Conal  
Los Angeles,  
California  
Offset  
1997



## You're Invited!

Need a jolt to combat election exhaustion? Join *In These Times* for a night of political hilarity at our Cirque de Politique and Presidential Rogues Gallery extravaganza on Saturday, October 23, 7–10:30 p.m. at 2040 N. Milwaukee Avenue in Chicago. This is your first chance to see this scathing exhibit featuring satirical presidential posters dating back to the '60s. Enjoy light refreshments, drinks and a performance by the Chicago political comedy troupe, Schadenfreude ([www.schadenfreude.net](http://www.schadenfreude.net).) More details on this exciting event coming soon. E-mail Tracy Van Slyke at [tracy@inthesetimes.com](mailto:tracy@inthesetimes.com) for more information.

### Nixon's Brain

Jornada Continental  
de Apoyo a Viet Nam,  
Cambodia y Laos  
Organización  
Continental Latino  
Americana de  
Estudiantes  
Cuba  
Offset  
1971



appropriating the visual language of advertising and film promotion. Johnson's head is superimposed onto a scene from *Bonnie and Clyde*, and George Bush becomes the "Marlboro Man." Others rely on puns and familiar slogans, such as a 1969 poster with Richard Nixon asking, "Would you buy a used war from this man?" or Robbie Conal's "Dough Nation" featuring Bill Clinton.

Whatever their inspirations, the posters evoke the passions that inspire protests and protest art. They serve to remind us that de-

mocracy is based on the right and obligation to dissent, regardless of who sits in the Oval Office. In the current electoral season, we may well need laughter and irreverence to put the political drama in perspective, as we wonder which candidate, and which issue, will next appear on our walls. ■

**CAROL A. WELLS** is the Executive Director of the Center for the Study of Political Graphics ([www.politicalgraphics.org](http://www.politicalgraphics.org)). A Presidential Rogues Gallery is on display in the offices of *In These Times* from October 23 to November 30.





SARAH OATES

BY MARGARET MORGANROTH GULLETTE

## Trapped in Decline Culture

The “Face Aging” booth at the Boston Museum of Science attracted the longest lines of children. ¶ Access was forbidden to those over 15, so I watched from outside. The youngsters had their photographs taken and soon their digitized image

appeared on a TV monitor. Then, tapping a button like a VCR remote, each child could call up simulations of what she or he would supposedly look like at one-year intervals up to their 60s. In seconds the computer added pouches, rouged skin and blotches; faces became elongated and then wider and then saggy; lines became heavier. Boys lost hair. Hair turned gray. The heads of both boys and girls grew and then shrank.

The children came out distracted, most edging away fast, not knowing what had happened to them. One 8-year-old girl moaned, “I don’t want to get old!” A boy said about another child, “He’s disgusting at 42.”

Everything promised scientific truth—its location in the Museum of Science; the title of the show, *Secrets of Aging*; the prestigious technologies involved. But

next to nothing was scientific. The increasing facial redness as the children aged was an accident of the Kodak film they used. The blotches were unintentional, developing from freckles, moles and pimples the kids already had on their faces. The software, by C.O.R.E. Digital, which specializes in TV animation, added the wrinkles, swags and grayness.

The programmer wouldn’t say how the designers conceptualized “aging.” But they started with a photo of an 8-year-old girl and asked the staff if the image of her at 60-something was believable. The responses made them add more effects. These were arbitrary decisions. As Digital’s project manager observed: “It was only entertainment. We streamed together six or seven different ideas; we’re a special-effects studio.”



What exactly is wrong here? First of all, the software engineers didn't ask, "What's the algorithm for making people look more beautiful, expressive or individual as they grow up?" because they worked from our culture's preexisting notions of decline. Gerontologists on the Science Museum Exhibit Collaborative didn't ask, as age critics should, "What future does this project for children? What story of aging does it tell?" They may not believe decline should be the acceptable life-course narrative for the young, but had they been warier about American age culture, the taunting title, "*Face Aging*," would have raised an alarm.

People don't realize that aging is a narrative. Where age is concerned, we are made to focus endlessly on the body, as if we had no minds, concepts or attitudes about age that influence how we look to ourselves. Before anything called aging happens in the body, it is a set of stories children hear about their future. These stories create expectations, lay the ground rules of life, shape what it means to be human.

Prospective age narrative in a normal American childhood is about progress, not decline. In a narrative of progress, the implicit meanings of aging run from development to survival, resilience, recovery and then on to collective resistance to decline forces.

Adults—middle-class people, mostly women—read books that tell them how to "get over" getting older, how to be successful at retirement. But such positive aging isn't on display at the booth. Its monitor provides a startling example of decline forecasting: a wreck foretold about each and every tender body. "*Face Aging*" suggests that adults can't believe in aging-as-progress anymore; aging-as-decline is the default story.

Something historic has changed, some new era has begun.

What does increased longevity and improved health accomplish, if so many people are afraid of being old?

The real truth is that we are aged by culture. In our American case, the dominant culture reflects the needs and viewpoints of international capitalism in an era of globalization and inequality. The economy downsizes people at midlife; "anti-aging" ads and surgeries address people in their 40s and 30s; businesses outsource not just manufacturing, but white-collar jobs held by educated middle-class people. All of these cultural phenomena superannuate us prematurely, long before old age or retirement. Seniority systems—which provide the economic basis for respecting midlife workers—are eroding as labor unions weaken. Patriarchy used to protect midlife men in the middle and upper classes, but now—if we follow male midlife economic stagnation over the last 30 years—patriarchy seems weak in the face of capitalism's race to the bottom.

Age is politicized to explain history: growing inequality, rising displacement, high unemployment, job scarcity. Baby Boomers allegedly war against Generation X because they are jealous of their youth, while younger people are told that aging Boomers hold the good jobs and only as they retire will they be available to the young. People aging into their middle years are told they are under-skilled, overpaid, narcissistic and over-entitled. Age is doing the same kinds of dirty work as gender, race and sexuality.

Despite the American Dream, decades of feminist anti-ageism and the much-touted power of the Boomers, American age culture uglifies time and passes off its squint as truth. Now we are telling our underlying national

narrative of decline to people under 15. Economically and psychologically, we are losing the progress narrative of aging to which our national wealth, improved health and longevity should entitle us. Children are being prepared for decline as their future.

Thoughtful people wonder why we are so obsessed by age in America, why it seems so hard to hold on to respect for aging, to the values that make the life course feel valuable.

Children feel helpless looking into the crystal ball of aging because they don't know it's a fake. But how much better off are the grownups? Adults too are being made to stumble along the life course. The pain of decline, unless we are very privileged, will hit us long before the body begins to fail. Sexism, racism and homophobia are devastating. So is decline. Worse than ageism,

worse than middle ageism, it is backing down the life course to ever-younger ages. We won't need anti-aging products if we can identify the forces that endanger us. We need political resistance and will.

My hope is that thoughtful people learn to fight collectively against the forces producing decline. Perhaps it is utopian to imagine our children and ourselves feeling at home in the life course at every age. But no lesser goal can drive us to maintain the systems like seniority that work in favor of American age culture and progress narrative, and to overthrow the forces that can still be fought. ■

**MARGARET MORGANROTH GULLETTE** is the author of *Aged by Culture*, from which this was adapted. She is a resident scholar at the Women's Studies Research Center at Brandeis University. © 2004 Margaret Morganroth Gullette

## Travel with best-selling author and talk radio host Thom Hartmann and Power Places Tours to Crete, Greece.

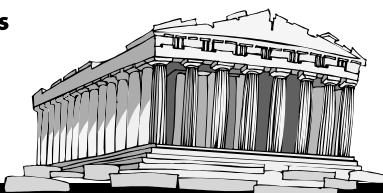
**Join me** as we explore "A Return to Democracy" identifying myths and offering a powerful blueprint for reviving Jefferson's dream before it's too late. **We'll explore** together how we can revitalize and restore democracy to nations that are under corporate assault and how we can better **spread to the rest of the world the greatest political force ever known for peace and human happiness.** —Thom Hartmann

**October 25-November 1, 2004**

preceded by optional extension to Athens, Santorini and Delphi October 18-October 25, 2004

**Contact us at 1-800-234-8687**

**Power Places Tours**  
The Leader in Spirit-Centered Travel for a Quarter Century



**For more info visit [www.thomhartmann.com](http://www.thomhartmann.com)**

BY PAUL MCLEARY

# A Lingering Afterimage

The twin spectacles of our recent national political conventions did their best to change the public's perception of what, exactly, 9/11 means. While it was only a scant three years ago that lower Manhattan

burned, both parties attempted to transform the day from tragic reality to mythic theater, hearkening back to a time when America stood united in grief and steely resolve.

The immediate reality following the attacks was markedly different for those of us living in New York and Washington—a terrifying mélange of bomb threats, small-scale military occupation and an ever-present stench of smoldering steel, glass and flesh. As Art Spiegelman writes in *In the Shadow of No Towers*, his powerful new collection of comics about the 9/11 attacks, we were simply “waiting for the other shoe to drop.”

Perhaps we still are. As if to underscore Spiegelman's point, just a few hours before *In the Shadow of No Towers* arrived at my door in August, I awoke to an NYPD blockade of my Brooklyn neighborhood. The reason is still murky, but according to an officer on the scene, “a bomb was found on the block over.” As the incident never showed up in the news, it was certainly something less dire. But awakening to a neighborhood lockdown is a pretty auspicious way to kick off a Monday morning—particularly when it's the first weekday following Tom Ridge's

**In the Shadow of No Towers**  
By Art Spiegelman  
Pantheon  
42 pages, \$19.95

latest guarantee of a terrorist attack against your city.

This seemed a fitting milieu in which to encounter Spiegelman's highly personal account of his family's reaction to the attacks (they live a few blocks from the site of the World Trade Center), and his disgust with the administration's pursuit of war as a result. Those familiar with Spiegelman's last book-length comic collection, 1992's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Maus*, know that he is no stranger to political content and is adept at tracing personal stories through the often anonymous and brutal march of history. *Maus* tells the story of his parents' persecution and internment at Auschwitz, and its particular genius lay in essential abstraction—portraying Jews as mice, Nazis as cats and Poles as pigs—that Spiegelman managed to ground by narrating the tale in his father's shaky English.

Whereas *Maus* followed the traditional comic format of narrative panels reading left to right and was drawn in black



and white, *In the Shadow of No Towers* is much more chaotic, mixing styles and themes throughout. Measuring 14 ½ inches by 10 inches, its oversize pages are covered with interweaving narratives and stand-alone panels.

Most assuredly anti-Bush and unmistakably anti-war, Spiegelman's partisanship has an organic New York feel and rhythm. In the introduction—where he notes that his post-9/11 travels to the Midwest showed him endless rows of houses “draped in flags that reminded me of the garlic one might put on a door to ward off vampires”—he captures the

vague, uneasy feeling many New Yorkers have that 9/11 is an abstraction for many Americans, whose “Let's roll!” mentality is divorced from a healthy conception of the true cost of revenge. The attacks, after all, were committed by men who justified their atrocities through the self-righteousness of vengeance.

Perhaps the most powerful illustration in the book is Spiegelman's rendering of the glowing, skeletal towers just before they fell. Set on the edges of every page in the collection, it is the book's lone unifying visual theme, the ghostly image being the last anyone saw of either tower.

Despite the power of many of his drawings and personal vignettes, Spiegelman indulges himself a bit too much in the final pages, reprinting several turn of the (20th) century cartoons that ran in New York tabloids. His reasoning is that after 9/11 these reminders of halcyon days were the only illustrations he could truly enjoy, but their inclusion detracts from the book as a whole, and seem more of a space-filler than a meaningful contribution to the project.

Spiegelman's raw anger and continuing fear of more attacks will undoubtedly find currency with those on the anti-war, anti-Bush left. But his insistence on flogging the “no war for oil” horse will likely win him few friends on the other side of the aisle—or with those who have tired of simplistic, placard-waving agitprop. But speaking truth to power has never been about tailoring one's message to core demographics, and Spiegelman uses his bully pulpit to lay bare the personal stories of people caught in the brutal wave of history and hatred. ■

**PAUL MCLEARY** regularly reviews books for *In These Times*.



BY TODD LILLETHUN

## Revolutionary Beginnings

Part of the appeal of studying the lives of great men and women is finding those defining points in their lives where events and circumstance resonate with an unexpected clarity and inspire them to rise up and do

extraordinary work. Where does the “new” man begin? How is greatness formed?

Films often pass over such quieter early milestones and head straight for the charge up San Juan Hill. These are certainly more visual, visceral moments where heroism plays out concretely amid billowing smoke. This year, the studios released *The Alamo*, *Hidalgo* and *Troy*, and November will bear witness to *Alexander*, all of them big-budget celebrations of dynamic heroism.

The film adaptation of Ernesto “Che” Guevara’s *The Motorcycle Diaries* departs from this trend. Instead of the armed struggles in Cuba, Bolivia or the Congo, director Walter Salles (*Central Station*), focuses on Guevara’s youth,

### **The Motorcycle Diaries** Directed by Walter Salles

where the road levies a steady, transformative power over his young adulthood, and reshapes the world he knows.

In 1952, Guevara and his friend Alberto Granado set out on an eight-month “improvised” tour of Latin America. Guevara was 23 and wanted to travel before finishing medical school. Alberto was 29 and already working as a biochemist. They traverse Argentina and Chile on their cumbersome motorbike La Poderosa II until it dies, then continue through Peru, Colombia and Venezuela on foot. As they trek through mountain passes and beg for food from the locals, the Cuban Revolu-

tion feels very far away.

Still, Guevara’s travels helped to shape his views on a “United Latin America.” Near the end of the journey, he states: “The division of [Latin] America into unstable and illusory nations is completely fictional. We constitute a single mestizo race, which from Mexico to the Magellan Straits bears notable ethnographical similarities.” From here his ideology takes form.

*The Motorcycle Diaries* is a mélange of road movie, coming of age story, anthropology, politics and Latin American portrait. Gael García Bernal (*Amores Perros*) portrays Guevara as a thoughtful, young adventurer who has the charm, integrity and wide-eyed exuberance to see people clearly and decipher a

glimpse of his own life’s purpose. Rodrigo de la Serna provides a nice foil as Alberto, the smooth charlatan and good-humored playboy whose greater age has instilled an amicable cynicism.

By his own account, Guevara’s transformation is quixotic and incremental. In his book, he describes his encounters in a mature voice that balances a critical eye with youthful enthusiasm, and exposes his quiet passion for people in fleeting bursts. In the end, it is the culmination of incidents rather than any one or two moments that matters.

The film, for the most part, acknowledges this. The scenes are short, the motion is constant, and the mix of humor and sadness stays true to the spirit of the journey. Handheld camera shots and erratic jump cuts inject vibrancy, while original location photography adds authentic weight. Best of all, Guevara’s diary entries, told in voiceover, fill out García Bernal’s performance and sound very natural in the film’s contexts.

But the film argues for a more thorough transformation than the book does. Jarring dramatic scenes at a leper colony in Sao Pablo, Peru, mar the film’s otherwise carefully built meditative tone by adding a climax where one does not exist.

Deciding to follow Guevara’s South American travels instead of his more famous exploits was a risky and sophisticated choice. Though the end titles briefly explain his ultimate destiny, the audience still may not understand who he was, or rather, how he was different from them. And that may be the point. The film’s unique contribution to Guevara’s story locates heroism in slow, humble beginnings, amid common everyday people on a journey. By extension, heroism exists among us, or within us, and everyone has the capacity to change the world. ■

**TODD LILLETHUN** regularly reviews movies for *In These Times*.



# Is Iran Next?

Continued from page 20

the Middle East's second nuclear power that worries the United States and Israel. At the same time that Washington was demanding that the Iranian case be sent to the Security Council, the Iranian army was test-firing its long-range (810 miles) missile—a demonstration of its commitment to an effective deterrent capacity.

From the point of view of the Middle East restructurers, Iran represents an increasing threat to regional stability. Not only does it already have long-range missiles, and might be developing nuclear weapons, its close ties with the Shiite majority in Iraq do not bode well for the type of political and economic restructuring the Bush administration planned for Iraq. Moreover, neoconservatives and Israelis have long complained that Iran backs the Hezbollah militias in Lebanon and is fueling the Shiite rebels in Iraq.

Effectively, Washington has already declared war on Iran. Being named by President Bush as part of the "Axis of Evil" triad targeted in the global war on terrorism and the new U.S. strategy of preemptive war has made Iran increasingly nervous.

Iran—itself a victim of a 1953 British and U.S.-engineered regime change that installed the Shah—has seen the United States implement regime change in Iraq to its west and Afghanistan to its east. Moreover, the U.S. government has for the first time solidly allied itself with the military hardliners in Israel—the region's only nation with nuclear warheads and one of the few nations that has refused to sign the nonproliferation treaty.

Back in 1996, Feith was busy representing the armament industries in Israel and the United States while at the same time preparing a policy briefing for the Israeli government. In *A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm*, Feith et al. recommended "a new vision for the U.S.-Israeli partnership ... based on a shared philosophy of peace through strength"—a "clean break" policy that is currently being dually implemented by the Bush and Sharon administrations. The next demonstration of strength may well be with Iran. ■

**TOM BARRY** is policy director of the Interhemispheric Resource Center of Silver City, New Mexico, [www.irc-online.org](http://www.irc-online.org), and director of its Right Web project.

## Introducing Hans Haacke

By Joel Bleifuss

In September, Hans Haacke, the German-born conceptual artist, wrote to ask if *In These Times* would like to reproduce an image "commenting on the current political situation. ... Rather than having them sequestered in art galleries—my normal environment—I would like to reach a larger audience with these images."

I first saw Haacke's work at the 2000 Whitney Biennial, where his installation "Sanitation" was causing a bit of a ruckus. In "Sanitation," Haacke had compared Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's aesthetic philosophy—as demonstrated by his public censure of the Brooklyn Museum's *Sensation* exhibition—to that of the Nazis, who like Giuliani, did not appreciate "degenerate" art.

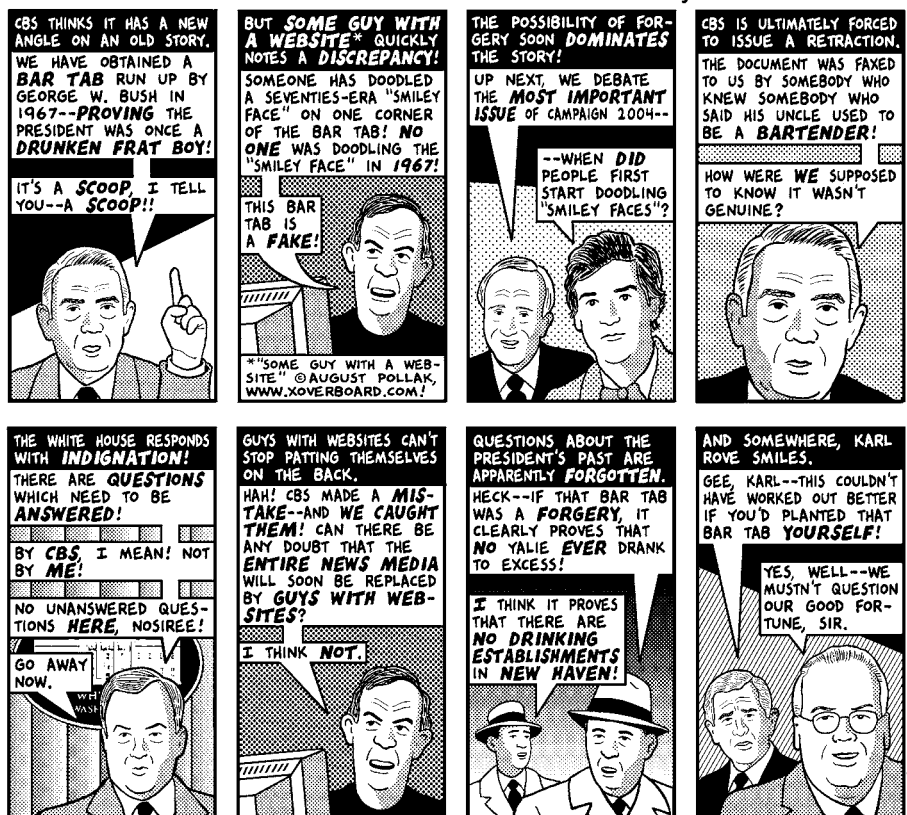
Controversy is nothing new to Haacke. In 1971, the Guggenheim Museum in New York canceled Haacke's solo exhibition six weeks before it was to open because his work dealt with "specific social situations" that the museum did not consider art. The Guggenheim also fired Edward Frye, the exhibit curator. Haacke's offending work was "Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time System, as of May 1, 1971." The exhibit included 142 photographs of New York apartment buildings in Harlem and on the Lower East Side owned by Harry Shapolsky and a description of his shady real estate dealings. It has long been suspected that friends of Shapolsky on the Guggenheim board got the exhibit nixed.

In this issue, we present on the back page:

**Hans Haacke, "Stuff Happens," 2003. Digital imaging assistance Gearóid Dolan. © Hans Haacke/Artists Rights Society.**

## THIS MODERN WORLD

by TOM TOMORROW



# Classified

Reach more than 30,000 readers by placing a classified ad in the next issue of *In These Times*.

TEXT (PER ISSUE)		DISPLAY (PER ISSUE)	
1-2	95¢ WORD	1-2	\$30 INCH
3-5	85¢ WORD	3-5	\$28 INCH
6-9	80¢ WORD	6-9	\$26 INCH
10-19	75¢ WORD	10-19	\$24 INCH
20+	65¢ WORD	20+	\$22 INCH

Please send a check or money order, your ad text, and this form to Emily Udell, Advertising Director, *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave, Chicago, IL 60647.

You can also reserve space by calling Emily at (773) 772-0100, x240, or by sending an e-mail to [emily@inthesetimes.com](mailto:emily@inthesetimes.com)

## BOOKS

LOVELIFE: PROFANE TESTAMENT after Schopenhauer & Thoreau. On C.D. from: POB 111, Porthill, ID 83853.

GEORGE H.W. BUSH/JFK'S assassination, video, 14 volumes. On C.D. or individually. Oswald's Friend; de Mohrenschildt Story. Web [ciajfk.com](http://ciajfk.com) (831) 465-9272.

AMERICAN MEDIA'S HYPOCRISY. Regarding romance, sexuality and abuse. "Valentine's Day for the Idiots," by Noel Nichols—dark, stream-of-conscious literary fiction. Order: [barnesandnoble.com](http://barnesandnoble.com), [amazon.com](http://amazon.com).

## BUMPER STICKERS

UnSeatBUSH.COM—INEXPENSIVE BUMPERSTICKERS, excellent fundraiser, spread electoral awareness. Quantity discounts! (619) 226-1116.

## BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

START YOUR OWN World Wide Business With No Money Down. [www.moreinfo247.com/8714948/](http://www.moreinfo247.com/8714948/) Free.

YOU DESERVE THIS!  
\$250K potential.  
Not interested? Don't call  
1-800-516-7824



## ENVIRONMENTAL

GOOD CITIZENS PROTECT America's waters. Develop an industrial or construction stormwater discharge pollution prevention plan. Contact: Environmental Compliance Management Services. [www.ecms.com](http://www.ecms.com). (916) 988-0867.

## EVENTS

COLLEGE OF COMPLEXES—Chicago's weekly free speech forum—[www.collegeofcomplexes.org](http://www.collegeofcomplexes.org).

## MERCHANDISE



DECOMPRESSION FOR THE DEMOCRAT™. SeeYaGeorge.com. Outrageous Political Shopping for Your Progressive State of Mind!

SOW THE SEEDS of doubt about Bush/Cheney with t-shirts. Promote progressive issues with buttons and other products. [www.maggiefeld.com](http://www.maggiefeld.com).

GIVE BUSH THE BOOT!  
[www.bushdoormat.com](http://www.bushdoormat.com)

ANTI-BUSH / PROGRESSIVE bumperstickers, buttons. Also custom orders, campaign/promotional items. Union-made. [www.newsolidarity.com](http://www.newsolidarity.com); 1-800-632-9932

## Bush Joker Card Poster

Free shipping – \$10

[www.inthesetimes.com/store](http://www.inthesetimes.com/store)

UnSeatBUSH.COM—INEXPENSIVE BUMPERSTICKERS, excellent fundraiser, spread electoral awareness. Quantity discounts! (619) 226-1116.

TOPPLE BUSH T-SHIRTS, bumper stickers and posters. Very cool designs. [www.topplebush.com](http://www.topplebush.com).

## PERSONALS

GREENSINGLES.COM — FREE PHOTO ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Quick & easy sign-up.

*Concerned Singles*

since 1984, linking singles who care about peace, social justice, diversity, gender equity, and the environment.

Nationwide / international. All ages.

FREE SAMPLE: Box 444-IT, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; ☎ (413) 243-4350; OR [www.concernedsingles.com](http://www.concernedsingles.com)

## POLITICAL

CONNECT THE DOTS: [www.bushin6ostanzas.com](http://www.bushin6ostanzas.com).

## SERVICES

FUND RAISING FOR your organizations and civic groups. [www.moreextraincome.com](http://www.moreextraincome.com)

## WEB SITES

WHAT'S HAPPENING? LOG on to [www.sagacious-smartass.com](http://www.sagacious-smartass.com).

[www.yborcitystogieonline.com](http://www.yborcitystogieonline.com)

[www.liberalswithguns.com](http://www.liberalswithguns.com)

[www.socialistalternative.org](http://www.socialistalternative.org)

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN 2004. [www.WaltBrownForPresident.org](http://www.WaltBrownForPresident.org); (503) 241-8217.

## GENERAL ANNOUNCEMENT

SEEKING TO CHANNEL your pent up anger about the pathetic state of national and global affairs in a way that's meaningful, satisfying and even fun? Like the idea of all night cities surrounded by gorgeous nature where you can take social movement politics and put them to work with the working class? You'll want to come to work with the SEIU Local 1107 in Las Vegas as we seek to change the conditions of work, community and politics in Nevada. If you are looking to learn new skills or sharpen them as you pursue movement work—coming to Nevada is the thing to do! We will have a ton of new organizing campaigns, and, we need a small (progressive) army of organizers who want to do internal organizing and help us build a powerful model of mobilizing and engaging the base we have to win more for workers and their communities.

AVAILABLE POSITIONS ARE: internal and external organizers—leads and newer folks; strategic researchers; and a more senior person who handles grievances from coaching and training stewards to handling step meetings with the employer and tracking our arbitrations.

TO FIND OUT more, email or fax (702/386-4883) your resume to Melody Rash [mrash@seiu107.org](mailto:mrash@seiu107.org) and tell us about yourself.

